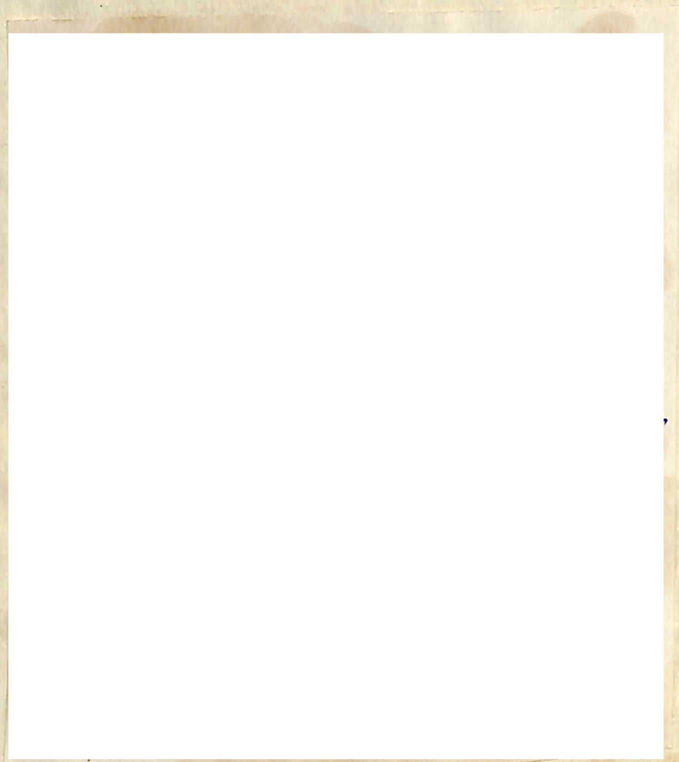


STUDIES IN VEDIC AND INDO-IRANIAN RELIGION AND LITERATURE

VOL. I

By

Late Pt. Kshetresh Chandra Chattopadhyaya

Edited by

Dr. Vidya Niwas Misra

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PREFACE

This is my proud privilege to present the first Volume of the complete works of my late Guru, Pt. Chattopadhyaya. I knew my limitations, when I was called upon to accomplish this task, but knowing fully well that I may not prove equal to the task, I took up this challenge under the cover of the well-known maxim that the best is the enemy of good. Perhaps much better arrangement of Gurudeva's papers should have been offered and further annotations should have been added, but the publication could not be put off further due to the insistence of the members of his family. I sincerely tender my apologies for imperfections which are my own.

I propose to give a short assessment of Pt. Chattopadhyaya's works as an introduction to this work, which would appear along with the second volume of this work. Here I am confining the preface mainly to the opinions of other scholars on the achievements of Late Pt. Chattopadhyaya.

Pt. Chattopadhyaya was held in high esteem by eminent Orientalists here as well as abroad and it would be proper to quote their own words, so that the scholarly achievements of Pt. Chattopadhyaya are lime-lighted by mature opinions. Here a mere sampling is given (the detailed correspondence will follow in a subsequent volume of his collected papers).

Morris Winternitz in a personal letter gives his appreciation of the Vṛṣākapi paper in these words, "I am much obliged to you for sending me your very

interesting and suggestive paper on the Vṛṣākapi Hymn. Like many other obscure hymns of the Ṛgveda, this hymn too has been explained over and over again without being much clearer. I gladly admit that you have improved on your predecessors. You have made it probable enough that Vṛṣākapi need not be taken as an ape, and that it is possible to see in Vṛṣākapi a solar deity........If we shall ever be able to get an absolutely satisfactory interpretation of the Vṛṣākapi hymn .... your paper will certainly be one step towards it."

Dr.L.D. Barnett reviewing the Journal of Deptt. of Letters, Calcutta University in *JRAS* opines, "Among the most important papers we may single out for special mention that of Mr. K. C. Chattopadhyaya on the Identification of the Rigvedic river Sarasvati and some connected problems."

Prof. J. Charpentier in his review appearing in *JARS*, 1927 acclaims, "By far the most extensive contribution is that of Mr. Ksetresachandra Chattopadhyaya, dealing with the much debated question of the date of Kalidasa. This paper is written with considerable skill and a good knowledge of the literature concerned with the question"

Prof. Charpentier was full of admiration as is evident from a subsequent personal letter of his, "I have read your paper with great interest and found many very sound remarks in it, e.g. when you think that the current theories on the relation between Greek and Hindu astronomy are in sore need of revision–a remark with which I heartily concur. Also what you say on p. 112 concerning the Prakrits is perfectly sound, etc...... This, however, is only a personal meaning, and I still congratulate you upon the good piece of work you have achieved. I hope that you will soon find your way to

continue your researches in the field of Sanskrit Kavya. They will certainly always be met with vivid interest".

Prof. Walter Neisser commenting on Pt. Chattopadhyaya's theory on Ṛgvedic gods, opines, "I was much pleased to get acquainted with your conception of this interesting problem. There is great probability to realise that Indra has not been a representative of any natural phenomenon originally......I should be glad to see your papers on Varuna and on similar subjects if you will be kind enough to send me".

Prof. Otto. Strauss acknowledges the receipt of his paper on Indo-Iranian Schism in these words, "Many thanks for your article 'Martin Haug's Theory of Indo-Iranian Religious Schism' which I have perused with great interest. I think you have succeeded in putting things very clearly and convincingly".

Prof. C. J. Ogden writes about the aforesaid paper on Indo-Iranian Schism with greater admiration, "Let me thank you for your kindness in sending me a copy of your article on 'Martin Haug's Theory of Indo-Iranian Religious Schism', which has impressed me with the cogency of its argument that the divergence in the religious development of India and Iran was a natural one and not the result of a deliberate enmity between two sister people"

Prof. F. W. Thomas in a personal letter gives his appreciation of an address, "I think your Address (Presidential Address-Veda Section-Ninth Oriental Conference) is a comprehensive and judicious survey of the literature of the subject, and I generally agree with your criticisms of other scholars, more especially in regard to Mohenjo-daro and to the Vedic literature and the connections between the two and with your views concerning the present

situation and needs of Vedic research. The points made in regard to Comparative Philology and Avestan comparisons are also excellently put... The Address seems to me admirably sober and reasonable.

"In regard to the Sakuntala also I think you have made matters much more intelligible than they were before. The dependence of the Padma-Purana upon Kalidasa is made patent, and the originality of Kalidasa is apprized in a really critical manner. I am grateful to you for putting me in possession of the paper.

"I am happy to have made your personal acquaintance in India, and it will be a pleasure to hear from you after my return to England."

Dr. A. B. Keith gives his estimate of Pt. Chattopadhyaya's merits as a scholar in these words, "I have been familiar with the work in very varied fields of Sanskrit literature carried out by Kshetresa Chattopadhyaya of Sanskrit Department of the University of Allahabad.

"In his writings Mr. Chattopadhyaya has shown marked knowledge both of the older traditions of the scholarship of the Sanskrit Pandits skilled in Indian scientific and philosophical thought, and of the modern exponents of comparative philology, anthropology and ancient history. In Vedic studies he has struck out lines of his own and he has defended novel views with a breadth of learning and of argument which command for them the serious consideration of all students."

Coming to the Indian Scholars, it would be but proper to quote first from the late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha, who taught Pt. Chattopadhyaya:

"Pandit Ksetresha Chandra Chattopadhyaya was one of my best pupils at the Muir C. College from where he

took the B. A., in the First Class. Since then he has been working strenuously in the field of Sanskrit scholarship in all its aspects—Poetry and Poetics, Philosophies, Veda along with Avesta; and now after all these twenty years and more, he has become easily the *first*, the best Sanskritist who has passed through my hands. He is deeply read in the originals, having studied them under the best Shastris at Benares, whereby he has imbibed the deep learning of the 'Pandits'. Along with this, he has been carrying on researches on the 'modern' lines also; and his success in the field has secured for him a place of honour among his compeers; as is evidenced by the fact that by common consent he was selected to preside at the most important i.e. Vedic-section of the Oriental Conference recently held in Travancore. In the field of Vedic learning on modern lines, he has won a unique position; and his Research Papers on this subject have won high praise from the best 'Orientalists' of the West.

"Ksetresha Chattopadhyaya has thus, by sheer hard work, won for himself a place of honour among scholars of both types.

"In the domain of Indian Philosophy he has gone out of the usual rut and has sounded the depths of Purva Mimamsa Literature, with the help of practical demonstration among the Vaidikas of Benares.

"His work at the Allahabad University has been most successful. He is universally loved and respected as an ideal teacher of Sanskrit in all branches--including Ancient Indian History and Philosophy and Vedas.

"He has now become the one man of the younger generation to whom younger scholars from all over the

world are likely to come seeking for guidance in their study and research. In the domain of Indian Philosophy and Vedic Studies he appears to be the only person equipped for such honour.

"In character he is a genuine Brahmana in the strictest sense of the term, intelligent and hardworking and yet humble and respectful to elders, and helpful to juniors and pupils."

His another Guru late Pt. Gopinath Kaviraj who outlived his disciple has aptly assessed Pt. Chattopadhyaya,s achievement as a modern scholar with a traditional base in the following words :

I have much pleasure in certifying that Pandit Kshetresh Chandra Chattopadhyaya M.A., has been known to me for over twenty years, in fact since the days of his early college life. He worked for some length of time under my guidance in the Government Sanskrit College Library Benares—and though later on he left Benares and joined appointment first in Bengal and then the University of Allahabad, he has always kept me in touch with the progress of his literary career. Pandit Kshetresh Chandra has specialised in Vedic studies, having worked in detail on orthodox lines as well as on Western methods and has produced a number of valuable and original papers which have been widely appreciated. His acquaintance with the Iranian language and with Indo-Europen Philology and his knowledge of German and French combined with his sound Sanskrit scholarship and his Mīmāṃsā knowledge have equipped him for Vedic researches in a way more adequate than in the case of many others in the field. His numerous papers will show his versatility and critical acumen. I can personally testify to his good knowledge

of most of the important branches of Indian Philosophy (including Nyāya, Vedānta and Mīmāṃsā) in which he has read not only the standard works which are classical but also the commentaries and modern expositions and disquisitions. He has a breadth of outlook together with a fine critical sense. What is unique in Pandit Kshetresh is the rare combination of the depth of traditional learning with the analytical methods of modern western scholarship. His manners are unassuming and moral character exemplary."

Prof I. J. S. Taraporewala, the eminent Iranian scholar expresses his estimate of Pt. Chattopadhyaya's scholarship in these words: "I have known Mr. Kshetreschandra Chattopadhyaya, M. A., since the last twelve years or more. I also had the pleasure of having been his examiner in the 3rd paper (Comparative Grammar of Sanskrit) at the M. A. Examination of the Calcutta University. At that time I was struck by the extremely correct grasp he showed of this subject. Since then I have come into closer touch with him, and our acquaintance has now ripened into friendship, based on my side upon a genuine esteem for his work, his industry and his character.

"Mr. Kshetreschandra is to my mind one of the very few scholars of Sanskrit who possess a real grasp of the meaning of "Philological and critical methods". And to me the chief wonder is that he is entirely self-trained. His knowledge of Sanskrit is wide and accurate, though I would not presume to pass judgment on that point. But I can speak with full confidence about his thorough grasp of Indo-European Philology, especially that of the Aryan branch of languages. He also possesses a very good knowledge of French and German, and has more than a nodding acquaintance with other languages of Europe.

"To this knowledge of Languages and of Linguistics of India he adds a very good knowledge of Iranian Languages and culture. In fact Indo-Iranian culture contacts have formed a favourite side of his activity during the past ten years and more. He has a very good insight into the history of the Ancient East, and he has kept himself quite uptodate in the matter of modern research work on the Ancient Religions and Cultures of the East. I have in my possession a valuable set of letters from him detailing the lines of his research as he progressed with it.

"His many and various papers on Vedic Culture and kindred subjects have proved amply that he possesses a keenness of intellect and a critical acumen comparable to the finest to be found amongst Western scholars, while in his knowledge of the East and in the accuracy of his grasp of Eastern ideas he is decidedly their superior.

"In the end I must say something of his extremely fine and loving character. Simple, frank and modest, he has not a particle of the pride which so often accompanies a great intellect. This modesty and an unfailng good humour have won him many warm friends and admirers among all classes and from all communities. I would like to count myself as one of the Parsis who greatly admire his learning and who esteem him highly for his high character."

It is a great pity that Pt. Chattopadhyaya's large number of papers, so much appreciated by scholars of international stature, could not be published in bookform in his life-time. The main reason was his own obsession with perfection and his self-negating modesty. His was an unsatiable thirst for knowledge and while he was

more than contented with his life, however, full of strife and struggle it was, he was never satisfied with what he had studied and what he had written as a natural sequence to his studies in the vast realm of Oriental learning. A mere look at the long list of his papers would show the broad canvas of his pursuit of knowledge (the list will follow this life sketch). Pt. Chattopadhyaya was a Guru par excellence. He radiated yearning for Truth and humility. He was a hard taskmaster and yet an embodiment of paternal affection which was equally bestowed on his disciples and his children. He was a staunch rationalist and open-minded, but at the same time he was a devout Hindu and lived upto the ideal of a *bhakta* (a man of God). He sacrificed all his comforts for an ascetic-like life of a scholar, but when the cause of teachers demanded that he should sacrifice his dearest sanctum of scholarly pursuit, he did not hesitate to sacrifice his own cherished goal and stood up to fight for the righteous cause. He sincerely believed that search for Truth includes a rebuttal of untruth and injustice and he lived upto this belief, howsoever he had to suffer both materially and mentally.

To the last day of his life here in this world, he was engaged in '*Svādhyaya*' (search of Truth for its own sake). Till the very end which came abruptly in the midst of a discussion over his series of lectures on the three stages of Vedānta proposed to be held in the following month under the auspices of the Sanskrit University Varanasi, had his mind set on search for new vistas of Indological research. He felt uneasy, but carried on the discussion with the Vice Chancellor and the Librarian of the Sanskrit University and soon after they had left, he breathed his last on 3rd March, 1974, in Varanasi.

Such an eternal flame of truth and righteousness can never die and Pt. Chattopadhyaya lives and shall continue to live in those (some of the well-known amongst his students are, Prof. S.P. Chaturvedi, Prof. Aryendra Sharma, A. Ghosh, B.B. Lal, Prof. G. R. Sharma Dr. U. N. Tiwari, Dr. G. C. Pande, Shri L. N. Tiwari and Shri M. P. Lakhera) whom he inspired with the ideal goal of an intellectual and in those who were nourished by his sweet affection. He shall live in his monumental works, which are being published under different titles of which the first one is entitled Studies in Vedic and Indo-Iranian Religion and Literature which again runs into two Volumes, the first one relating to Vedic religion and Vedic history and the second relating to Vedic chronology and Indo-Iranian Studies. His complete works are expected to cover five titles in all. The second title would cover his contributions to the study of Kālidāsa, the third would comprise his philosophical studies, the fourth his miscellaneous studies and lastly the fifth, his magnum opus, (which he could not complete and a part of which has to be reconstructed on the basis of his notes) would relate to an analysis of the Vedic gods.

I shall fail in my duty as editor, if I do not acknowledge my deep gratitude to my Guru, Pt. Chattopadhyaya, whose blessings have enabled me to complete the first phase of the stupendous task of collecting and editing his complete works. I have received full cooperation from his sons and daughters, Mahesh Chandra, Bhavesh Chandra, Umesh Chandra, Annapurna, Gauri and Parvati. In fact the salvaging task has been accomplished wholly by Mahesh and Umesh. I am further indebted to Prof. G. R. Sharma and Prof. G. C. Pande for their kind encouragement in carrying out this process of redemption from Guru's obligation, so sacred in our culture.

Lastly I must thank Sri Kishore Chandra Jain of the Bharatiya Vidya Prakashan who offered to publish the first work (running in two Volumes) and have finally brought out the first volume of the first title of Panditji's complete works.

I seek kind indulgence of the enlightened reader for discrepancies in editing and for printing errors, which might have crept in.

Guru Purnima, 1976

Vidya Niwas Misra



LIFE-SKETCH OF PANDIT KSHETRESA CHANDRA CHATTOPADHYAYA

Late Pt. Kshetresa Chandra Chattopadhyayay was born of late Shri Ātula Chandra Chattopadhyaya and Shrimati Surasundari Devi, of Village Nimta, District 24 Parganahs of Bengal on October 27, 1896. He came from an illustrions family of Kulīna Brāhmaṇas, descended from Āvasathya Gangananda Chattopadhyaya of Deshmukho in District Hoogly of Bengal. The great Indian writer Bankim Chandra Chattopadhyaya belonged to the same family and Pt. Chattopadhyaya inherited the spirit of Indian renaissance from him. His mother was a deeply religious lady and his father, an assistant in the Government of India Secretariat, a good scholar of English. He had two sisters, Abha Devi and Prabha Devi. He married Shrimati Jagat Lakshmi Devi, daughter of Professor Jyotish Chandra Banerjee, Professor of English literature in Patna.

Pt. Chattopadhyaya studied in a number of schools and passed the Matriculation Examination of the Calcutta Univerity in 1913 from the Hindu School of Calcutta in the first division. He then studied in the Presidency College of Calcutta for the Intermediate Examination in Arts and passed it in 1915 in the first division. He then migrated to the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and passed the B. A. Examination of the Allahabad University from the Muir Central College, Allahabad, in 1917, with distinction and the M. A. Examination in Sanskrit (Philosophy Group) from the Queen's College Benares, in 1919. He also passed the M. A. Examinations in

Sanskrit (Veda Group) of Calcutta University in 1921 and (Vedānta Group) in 1922. He had also passed the First Examination in Pāṇinian Grammar of the Bengal Sanskrit Association in 1913.

While he was a young child, his mother read out to him and his sisters a Bengali drama on the life of Sri Śaṅkarācārya. This early created in his mind a deep interest in Vedānta Philosophy. From his father and his Head Master in the Hindu School, Rai Bahadur Rasamay Mitra, he got ínterested in linguistic studies. While in School in Bengal, the young boy felt sad that Bengali Pandits of the Orthodox School, though well-versed in other branches of Sanskrit learning, practically knew nothing of the Vedas. He decided that he would himself try to make good this deficiency and specialise in Vedic studies. Study of the Vedas in all their aspects had remained his chief goal of academic endeavour. Vedanta had been his next love. He in his college days became an intimate friend of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, who later became a driving force in his pursuit of knowledge and reassessment of Indian thought from an Indian standpoint.

At Allahabad, his Professor of Sanskrit was Mm. Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha, F. B. A., who taught him Vedānta, besides Sanskrit Literature. This was very fortunate for him. At Benares, the greatest centre of Sanskrit learning, his teachers were Padma Vibhūshaṇa Mm. Dr. Gopinatha Kaviraja, Dr. Arthur Venis, Mm. Pandit Lakshmaṇa Shastri Tailang, Mm. Pandit Vāmā Charana Nyāyāchārya, Mm. Ambādasā Shastri and Pandit Achyutānanda Tripāṭhi. He imbibed from these scholars the method of Sanskrit learning on traditional lines. Under his Professor of Sanskrit in the Queen's College, Benares, the late Dr. Tukaram Krishna Laddu, he studied Pali

and Prakrits and Elements of Comparative Philology. He was later helped in his study of Linguistics by Professors Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji and the late Professor Dr. Irach Jehangir Sorabji Taraporewala. The latter and the late Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi helped him in Avestan studies. The late Pandit Ganesh Shastri and Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Chinnaswami Shastri helped him in the understanding of Vedic Śrauta rituals.

After passing his M. A. Examination in 1919, he worked as a research scholar on the Vedānta Sūtras under Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Gopinatha Kaviraja for a few months. He joined as a Lecturer in Sanskrit in the Carmichael College, Rangpur, in November 1919, and as a Lecturer in Sanskrit in the University of Allahabad in September 1924. At Rangpur he had to teach Veda, Sanskrit Texts, Dramaturgy, Dharmaśāstra, History of Sanskrit Literature and also Bengali. At Allahabad, where he served for about 34 years as Lecturer, Reader and Professor, he had to teach a large variety of subjects, Veda, Mīmāṁsā, Vedānta, Classical Sanskrit Literature, Pali, Prakrit, Linguistics, Avesta and Ancient Persian and Ancien Indian History.

History was a favourite subject of study of Pt. Chattopadhyaya from his school days. While at Allahabad, he paid several visits to the ancient city of Kaushambi, now a village called Kosam, and realised its archaeological importance. In accordance with his wishes, the Archaeological Department of the Government of India took interest in its systematic excavation. But when the Department abruptly stopped the works, Pt. Chattopadhyaya wished that the work should be taken up by Allahabad University. He induced the authorities of the University to move the Archaeological Department to

give license to the University to carry on excavations at Kaushambi. The Department permitted Professor Govardhan Rai Sharma, who had been trained in the modern technique of archaeology by the then Director General of Archaeology, Dr. Robert Mortimer Wheeler, to start this work. It had led to very valuable results.

The Government Sanskrit College of Benares was converted into the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya in March 1958. Pt. Chattopadhyaya was appointed its first Director of Research in August 1958. His own literary activities has started when he was an undergraduate at Allahabad and writing of research articles when he was a Lecturer at Rangpur and guidance of research began when he was a Lecturer in the Allahabad University. Being appointed Director of Research in the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, he had an opportunity of organising research both on traditional and modern lines in the University. He himself supervised the work of some research scholars in Veda, Pāninian Grammar and Classical Literature. The Government Sanskrit College had published the *Saraswati Bhawan Texts and Studies.* The Sanskrit University took them over, continued them and added publications under several new heads. A University Press was also started through his efforts. Pt. Chattopadhyaya held the post of Director of Research for five years with a break of one and half years. He was also for about one year acting Vice-Chancellor of the University in addition to his duties as Director of Research.

After retiring from his services in the Varanaseya Sanskrit Vishvavidyalaya, he was appointed Adviser for Sanskrit Programmes in the All-India Radio by the Government of India. He held this post for three years and six months. He prepared the Sansktit Lessons that

are being broadcast twice a week by the All-India Radio. These Lessons have been revised and are again on the Air. These lessons seek to teach the Sanskrit Language and also the culture enshrined in it.

He was also appointed a special Scholar for comparative study of Vedas and Avesta by the Ministry of Education, Government of India of the Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha, Tirupati. Three Inaugural Lectures were delivered at Tirupati on August 21 to 23, 1966. A book in Sanskrit, named *Vedavittaprakāśikā*, has been written and is being revised for publication.

The Calcutta University appointed him Stephanos Nirmalendu Ghose Lecturer on Comparative Religion for 1960. Eight Lectures on the subject were delivered in 1963 and 1964. The title of the Lectures was "God reaches out His Hands". He was appointed Guru Govind Singh Professor of Comparative Religion by the Patiala University but he could not join the post on account of his prolonged illness from 1967 to 1969. He delivered three lectures on Vedic Literature in Hindi in 1960 at Ahmedabad under the auspices of the Jnanodaya Trust and three seminar lectures on the History of Vedic Religion in the same year before the Sanskrit College of Calcutta. He delivered three lectures in Hindi before the Lal Bahadur Shastri Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha of Delhi on Kālidāsa. He delivered a series of lectures on Vedic and Iranian religion at the Centre for Advanced Studies in Philosophy and Religion, Banaras Hindu University in 1972.

The President of India awarded him on August 15, 1966, a Certificate of Merit for Distinction in Sanskrit with a life pension.

Pt. Chattopadhyaya had been actively connected with the All-India Oriental Conference since its third session held in Madras in December 1924. He presided over its Veda and Indo-Aryan Section in the ninth Session held at Trivandrum in 1937 and its Veda Section in the Eighteenth Session held at Annamalainagar in 1955. He presided over the Philosophy Section of the Akhil Bhāratīya Hindi Sāhitya Sammelana held at Karachi in December 1946. He was actively connected with the efforts of the Sammelan to get Hindi accepted as the official language of the Indian Union by the Constituent Assembly in 1949. It had recently passed a resolution conferring on him the title of *Sāhitya-Vāchaspati* for his services to the cause of Hindi.

Pandit Chattopadhya lived a scholar to his last breath. His death came abruptly on 3rd March 1974, in Varanasi, soon after he had finished his final discussion over his the plan of lectures to be delivered at the Sanskrit University in April 1974.

[Adopted from the Felicitation Volume presented to Pt. Chattopadhyaya in 1972 by the Ganganath Jha Research Institute, Allahabad.]



CONTENTS



STUDIES IN VEDIC
AND
INDO-IRANIAN RELIGION
AND
LITERATURE

SECTION I

VEDIC GODS

THE VṚṢĀKAPI HYMN

ITS MEANING AND IMPORTANCE

इन्द्राविष्णू नमस्कृत्य वार्षाकपं विचार्यते ।
सूर्यस्यैव स्तुतिर्यत्र मधुरोऽपि रसस्तथा ।।
प्रसङ्गेन यदुत्वञ्च पर्शोरत्र स्फुटीकृतम् ।
महानन्दः परं ब्रह्म प्रीयतां मत्प्रचेष्टया ।।

The tenth *maṇḍala* of the Ṛgveda (X. 86) and the twentieth book of the Atharvaveda (X. 126) contain a dialogue between Indra and his wife Indrāṇī over some offence of Vṛṣākapi. The hymn which records this dialogue is considered obscure and various interpretations have been proposed for explaining the story referred to here. Vṛṣākapi, a favourite of Indra, has offended Indrāṇī for which she is extremely angry and she tries to rouse the anger of Indra against him and threatens to punish him herself (if Indra does not move in the matter). European scholars have generally taken Vṛṣākapi to mean 'a monkey', or more precisely, 'strong ape or a male ape (Mannaffe)'. "V. Bradke considers the story a satire in which under the name of Indra and Indrāṇī a certain prince and his wife are intended."[1] Oldenberg in his "Die Religion des Veda" holds a similar view (Third and Fourth Editions, p. 167). According to M. Bergaigne[2], Vṛṣākapi was a mythical sacrificer. Geldner[3] took the hymn as a humorous description of

1. Macdonell's Vedic Mythology, p. 64.
2. La Religion Vedique, II, 270-My information is taken from Griffith, Hymns of the Rigveda (second edition) II, p. 507 note.
3. Vedische Studien, 11, p. 23.

the domestic life of the gods. And Macdonell[4] considers the myth to have no general significance. But the late Lokamānya Tilak in his "Orion" (Chapter VII) has proposed an astronomical interpretation of the myth.

I shall attempt below a new interpretation of the hymn. I follow Roth in considering the Ṛgveda to be its own safest commentary. But as the Vṛṣākapi myth or the name *Vṛṣākapi* does not occur elsewhere it will be desirable to *start from the known* interpretation of the earliest Vedic interpreters and then try to see how far this hymn and the rest of the Ṛgveda support their explanation. The ultimate determining factor, of course, must be the Vedic texts themselves.

I shall have to discuss the entire hymn but in so doing I shall refer to the previous interpretations rather sparingly because otherwise I shall take up too much space. Scholars will kindly consider my interpretations on the basis of the texts I quote below and the discussions I can enter into here. This is the text of hymn :—

वि हि सोतोरसृक्षत नेन्द्रं देवममंसत ।
यत्रामदद्वृषाकपिरर्यः पुष्टेषु मत्सखा विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१॥
परा हीन्द्र धावसि वृषाकपेरति व्यथिः ।
नो अह प्र विन्दस्यन्यत्र सोमपीतये विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥२॥
किमयं त्वां वृषाकपिश्चकार हरितो मृगः ।
यस्मा इरस्यसीदुन्व १ र्यो वा पुष्टिमद्वसु विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥३॥
यमिमं त्वं वृषाकपिं प्रियमिन्द्राभिरक्षसि ।
श्वा न्वस्य जम्भिषदपि कर्णे वराहयुर्विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥४॥
प्रिया तष्टानि मे कपिर्व्यक्ता व्यदूदुषत् ।
शिरो न्वस्य राविषं न सुगं दुष्कृते भुवं विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥५॥
न मत्स्त्री सुभसत्तरा न सुयाशुतरा भुवत् ।
न मत्प्रतिच्यवीयसी न सक्थ्युद्यमीयसी विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥६॥

4. Vedic Mythology, p. 64.

उवे अम्ब सुलाभिके यथेवाङ्ग भविष्यति ।
भसन्मे अम्ब सक्थि मे शिरो मे वीव हृष्यति विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥७॥

किं सुबाहो स्वङ्गुरे पृथुष्टो पृथुजाघने ।
किं शूरपत्नि नस्त्वमभ्यमीषि वृषाकपिं विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥८॥

अवीरामिव मामयं शरारुरभि मन्यते ।
उताहमस्मि वीरिणीन्द्रपत्नी मरुत्सखा विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥९॥

संहोत्रं स्म पुरा नारी समनं वाव गच्छति ।
वेधा ऋतस्य वीरिणीन्द्रपत्नी महीयते विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१०॥

इन्द्राणीमासु नारिषु सुभगामहमश्रवम् ।
न ह्यस्या अपरं च न जरसा मरते पतिर्विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥११॥

नाहमिन्द्राणि रारण सख्युर्वृषाकपेरृते ।
यस्येदमप्यं हविः प्रियं देवेषु गच्छति विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१२॥

वृषाकपायि रेवति सुपुत्र आदु सुस्नुषे ।
घसत्त इन्द्र उक्षणः प्रियं काचित्करं हविर्विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१३॥

उक्षणो हि मे पञ्चदश साकं पचन्ति विंशतिम् ।
उताहमद्मि पीव इदुभा कुक्षी पृणन्ति मे विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१४॥

वृषभो न तिग्मशृङ्गो ऽन्तर्यूथेषु रोरुवत् ।
मन्थस्त इन्द्र शं हृदे यं ते सुनोति भावयुर्विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१५॥

न सेशे यस्य रम्बतेऽन्तरा सक्थ्या ३ कपृत् ।
सेदीशे यस्य रोमशं निषेदुषो विजृम्भते विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१६॥

न सेशे यस्य रोमशं निषेदुषो विजृम्भते ।
सेदीशे यस्य रम्बतेऽन्तरा सक्थ्या ३ कपृद्विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१७॥

अयमिन्द्र वृषाकपिः परस्वन्तं हतं विदत् ।
असिं सूनां नवं चरुमादेधस्यान आचितं विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१८॥

अयमेमि विचाकशद्विचिन्वन्दासमार्यम् ।
पिबामि पाकसुत्वनोऽभि धीरमचाकशं विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥१९॥

धन्व च यत्कृन्तत्रं च कति स्वित्ता वि योजना ।
नेदीयसो वृषाकपेऽस्तमेहि गृहाँ उप विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥२०॥

पुनरेहि वृषाकपे सुविता कल्पयावहै ।
य एष स्वप्ननंशनोऽस्तमेषि पथा पुनर्विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥२१॥

यदुदञ्चो वृषाकपे गृहमिन्द्राजगन्तन ।
क्व १ स्य पुल्वघो मृगः कमगञ्जनयोपनो विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥२२॥

पर्शुर्ह नाम मानवी साकं ससूव विंशतिम् ।
भद्रं भल त्यस्या अभूद्यस्या उदरमामयद् विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥२३॥

Before beginning a rendering of the hymn I must settle what the word Vṛṣākapi means. European scholars, as I have just said, have taken it in the sense of *'male ape'*, because *kapi* in the later literature regularly means an *'ape'*. But is it certain that the word had the same meaning in the Ṛgveda? As it occurs in no other hymn the question is difficult to decide. Let us see if by passing *from the known to the unknown* any light could be obtained. First of all let us try this sense or *'ape'* in the hymn. At first sight, no difficulty confronts us. That Indrāṇī should be addressed as mother to a 'monkey' in verse 7 does not constitute any difficulty, for tamed animals are considered as children by householders. But it must be confessed that there is not a single expression in the hymn *positively* supporting the meaning of 'monkey' for *kapi*. On a closer study of the hymn we find at least one expression which goes against the equation *kapi*-monkey. Vṛṣākapi has been called पुल्वघोमृगः 'sinner beast' (Roth-'viel übles tuend'—a Bahuvrīhi compound between पुलु and अघ) or better 'dread beast' in verse 22. The 'sin' referred to cannot be the offence complained of by Indrāṇī in verse 5, *viz*; the spoiling of her favourite things. For 'sin' would be much too strong a word for the offence; besides, that is only one offence, whereas Vṛṣākapi is called *'many-sinned'*. There is also the fact that after verse 17, we find Indrāṇī reconciled to Vṛṣākapi, so that we would not expect a connotation of reproach in a term used for Vṛṣākapi in verse 22. I therefore translate the word *pulvagha* (with the same analysis as Roth's) by 'dread'. Gods are often called in praise 'dread' of terrible

aspect &c. We may therefore parallel the expression पुल्वघो मृगः by मृगो न भीमः in I. 1542, said about Viṣṇu.[5]

Grassmann[6] thinks that the objective *aghā* originally meant 'oppressive' (bedrängend, würgend). The meaning of 'terrible' is not therefore impossible for *pulvagha*. A monkey can hardly be called a 'dread beast'. I think therefore that the equation *kapi*='monkey', in accordance with later usage, fails us here.

Let us now see if Yāska can give us any help. His note on the name Vṛṣākapi is अथ यद्रश्मिभिरभिप्रकम्पयन्नेति तद्वृषाकपिर्भवति वृषाकम्पयनः । Yāska connects the word *kapi* with the root कम्प् 'to tremble.'[7] But as no conjugational form or any other derivative of the root is found in the Ṛgveda, we may safely reject Yāska's explanation as one of his usual etymological fictions. But Śaunaka, the author of the Bṛhaddevatā, a work not far removed in time from Yāska, gives a more sensible interpretation, *viz*, *kapi*=*kapila* ('tawny coloured').[8]

5. Yāska (Nir. 1.20) has the following note on मृगो न भीमः कुचरः of I. 154.2; भीमो बिभ्यत्यस्माद् भीष्मोऽप्येतस्मादेव । कुचर इति चरति कर्म कुत्सितम् Yāska feels that the last adjective is not complimentary to a god (according to the ideas of his times) and he continues अथ चेद्देवताभिधानं, क्वायं न चरतीति । Of course the second explanation is preferable on other grounds but Yāska's words show that it is possible to find gods described as 'dread animals' That Vṛṣākapi is a god will be shown below.

6. Wörterbuch Zum Rig-veda, column 12.

7. Grassmann in his Wörterbuch, 313 and 314, follows Yāska in deriving कपिः of the present hymn (X. 86.5) from the root कम्प् but his reasons are not apparent to me.

8. Grassmann (Wb. 313) derives *kapilá* from *kapi* giving it the etymological meaning of 'having the colour of the *kapi*=

In the Bṛhad-dévata (VII. 141), he thus enumerates the 'deities' of the hymn under discussion:

'वि हि' वार्षाकपं सूक्तम् असौ हि कपिलो वृषा ।
इन्द्रः प्रजापतिश्चैव विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥[9]

Clearly he means that *kapi* in the name 'Vṛṣākapi' stands for *kapila.* Let us see if this meaning suits our hymn. Vṛṣākapi has been called हरितो मृगः 'a tawny-coloured beast' in verse 3. The formation of the compound shows that *kapi* is here a substantive[10] but that constitutes no difficulty for scores of illustrations can be cited from the Ṛgveda of adjectives meaning a particular colour (like हरि, बभ्रु, श्याव

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monkey'. But it is quite possible that *kapi* and *kapila* are two forms of the same word like *hari* and *hárita* and 'tawny' may have been the original meaning of *kapi.* The monkey may have been called *kapi* because he had the tawny colour. Similarly the lion and the monkey were in later times called simply *hari.*

9. Macdonell's rendering of the verse (H. O. S. Vol. 6, p. 288). "'Away, indeed' is a hymn addressed to Vṛṣākapi; for that brown *(kapila)* bull *(vṛṣan)* is Indra and Prajāpati : 'Indra is superior to all' is defective. The meaning that the words Śaunaka can convey is, "'Away, indeed' is hymn about Vṛṣākapi; (beside) that brown bull [or that brown bull and] Indra and Prajāpati, are the deities (=joint-deities) of the hymn. Indra is highest of all." 'विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः' in Śaunaka's verse is not for reffering to the hymn, because the opening words 'वि हि' has already served that purpose. It is for showing the relative importance of the three deities mentioned and Śaunaka does that in the words of the hymn itself. Indra is thus made out to be the supreme deity of the hymn.

10. See Macdonell's Vedic Grammar (Grundriss) 282 (like candra-mas).

etc) being used as substantives possessing that colour.[11] Though the author of the Bṛhad-devatā takes the first member *Vṛṣan* to be the substantive and the second member *kapi* to be the adjective we can have little hesitation in explaining the compound just the other way. The word *kapi* has been used as a substantive in verse 5. Now Vṛṣan comes from root वृष् 'to saturate' and the word means as a substantive 'a potent person or animal', 'a breeder', 'a bull' and as an adjective, 'saturating (with rain)', 'impregnating', 'potent', 'strong'. We may give to the compound *Vṛṣākapi* the meaning of 'the *potent* tawny-coloured animal' or 'the *strong* tawny-coloured animal'. I prefer the former meaning and my reasons will be evident later on.

But we have not yet learnt what particular animal is meant by the name. The language of the Bṛhad-devatā ('कपिलो वृषा' quoted above) perhaps suggests that the animal meant is, according to Śaunaka, the bull. This is possible, for a wild bull (or a bison ?) may be 'a dread beast' for 'a voracious beast' as Nirukta XIII, 3 explains the word पुल्वघः[12] and may be chased by a hunter and his dog. But we cannot be sure that no other animal could have been meant. I shall show below that the boar is probably the animal referred to.

The hymn makes it clear that this Vṛṣākapi is related to Indra and Indrāṇi. They are divine beings and Vṛṣākapi too may be a divine being. The Ṛgveda is very fond of

11. In English too expressions like 'he is riding on a chestnut', meaning 'he is riding on a chestnut-coloured horse' are not rare.

12. But this explanation has nothing to commend it, not even perhaps the name of Yāska. पुलु+√ घस् would form पुलुघाः and not पुल्वघः । It is highly doubtful if Yāska himself wrote the परिशिष्ट chapters.

figurative expressions and often likens gods to animals. What divine being could possibly be meant by this '*Vṛṣākapi*'? Unaided by external evidence we cannot decide the question. That aid is given by the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta. The Nighaṇṭu enumeration of deities in chapter 5 on the whole follows the classification of deities according to the three regions, terrestrial, the atmospheric and the celestial. The name वृषाकंपिः occurs in the Nighaṇṭu (*v.* 6) among the 'gods of celestial region', after विष्णु॑:, वि॒श्वान॑रः, वरु॑णः, के॒शी and के॒शिन॑: and Vṛṣākapi therefore may be a solar deity according to the compiler or compilers of the Nighaṇṭu. Yāska (Nir. XII-28) explicitly calls him Āditya (=Sun). The Bṛhad-devatā follows the Nighaṇṭu and the Nirukta. Saunaka's words are वृषैष कपिलो भूत्वा यन्नाकमधिरोहति । वृषाकपिरसौ तेन 'विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः' । रश्मिभिः कम्पयन्नेति वृषा वर्षिष्ठ एव सः । सायाह्काले भूतानि स्वापयन्नस्तमेति यत् । वृषाकपिरितो वा स्यादिति मन्त्रेषु दृश्यते । 'त्रिषु धन्वेति, हीन्द्रेण प्रयुक्तो वारिषाकपे ।।

(Macdonell's edition, H.O.S., Vol. 5, II 67-69, p. 67). The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa (II.6.12) improving on[13] the words (अथ यद्रश्मिभिरभिप्रकम्पयन्नेतियद् वृषाकपिर्भवति वृषाकम्पनः XII. 27) of Yāska says "आदित्यो वै वृषाकपिस्तद्यत्कम्पयमानो रेतो वर्षति तस्माद्वृषाकपिस्तद्वृाषाकपेर्वृषाकपित्वम्" The Mahābhārata (Śāntiparva-Mokṣa-

13. Though I say 'improving on', I am personally not certain which work was later, the Nirukta or the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. Dr. D. Gaastra has shown (Introduction to his edition of the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, p. 14) that यस्यै देवतायै हविर्गृहीतं स्यात् तां मनसा ध्यायेद् वषट्करिष्यन् is not a quotation from the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa as Bloomfield and Keith believe. But Gune (Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, pp. 45, 46) found two other passages in the Nirukta which might have come from the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa. Gaastra has also shown that the Vaitāna Sūtra is based on the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa and not *vice versa* (as Weber and Bloomfield assumed).

dharma, Ch. 342, vv. 86-87) has the Nighaṇṭu in mind when it says वृषो हि भगवान् धर्मः ख्यातो लोकेषु भारत । निघण्टुकपदाख्याने विद्धि मां वृषमुत्तमम् ।। कपिर्वराहः श्रेष्ठश्च धर्मश्च उच्यते । तस्माद्वृषाकपिं प्राह कश्यपो मां प्रजापतिः ।। It is possible that the author of these verses is acquainted with Yāska but he has altered Yāska's explanation 'Vṛṣākapi=the Sun' into 'V.=the abstract deity Dharma or Piety. The reason for this alteration is quite evident. Setting aside the didactic statement in the Mahābhārata we learn from the other early native works on Vedic gods that Vṛṣākapi is a solar deity.

But does the Ṛgveda give any warrant for this interpretation ? I think it does. Let us study the hymn under discussion a bit closely. We find here several attributes of the Sun. First of all there are the explicit statements about the setting and the rising of Vṛṣākapi in verses 20 and 21 (अस्तमेहि, पुनरेहि, अस्तमेषि)[14] and the implicit reference to his setting along with Indra in verse 22. Next there are other expressions which have been used elsewhere only about solar deities. Vṛṣākapi is brought in immediate connexion with धन्वं (=waste lands), कृन्तत्रं (=कृन्तत्राणि=high regions ?) and योजना (=leagues=plains ?) in verse 20 and it is certain that the verse means he has to traverse these. This at once brings to our mind passages like R. V. I. 35. 8 a, b "अष्टौ व्यख्यत् ककुभः पृथिव्यास्त्री धन्व योजना" said about Savitṛ=Sun and we can hardly doubt that Vṛṣākapi too is the Sun. Then again, Vṛṣākapi has been called स्वप्ननंशनः when going down, in verse 21. Yāska (Nir. XII. 28) gives the word *svapnanamśana* the meaning of 'remover of sleep' and Geldner (Vedische studien II, 28 and Ṛgveda in Auswahl I-Glossar-p. 209) 'disturber of sleep,. This is on

14. अस्तं may mean here, as often elsewhere, 'house', but the cumulative evidence is in favour of the sense of 'setting'.

the assumption that *naś* means here 'to disappear', as always in classical Sanskrit, and its causative form *naṁś* 'to drive away'. But the root has in the Ṛgveda a second meaning, *viz.*, 'to attain, c.f. Grassmann, Wörterbuch, 718, '2 nac' and Macdonell's Vedic Grammar for students, p. 395, '2 naś.' It is possible therefore that *svapnanaṁśana* here means 'bringer of sleep'. The Sun certainly lays down people to rest when he goes down.[15] If Yāska's meaning is preferred, even then the Sun can be understood, for he rouses people from sleep when he rises himself. This word alone should conclusively prove that Vṛṣākapi is the sun. And last of all, Vṛṣākapi has been called पुल्वघो मृगः 'dread beast' in verse 22 and I have already noted the parallel expression मृगो न भीमः ('like a dread beast') of I. 154. 2 about Viṣṇu, a solar deity.

The combination *vṛṣā-kapi* is by no means an impossible one as a name for the Sun. The Sun certainly looks yellow or tawny and we have in the Ṛgveda expressions like हरये सूर्याय (X. 96. 11) and शक्मना शाको अरुणः सुपर्ण आ यो महः शूरः सनादनीकः । यच्चिकेत सत्यमित्तन्न मोघं वसु स्पार्हमुत जेतोत दाता ।। (X. 55. 6 where the Sun is meant according to Grassmann, Griffith and others). And वृषा 'strong' (or saturator) is a frequent term for Ṛgvedic deities; compare उरुगायाय वृष्णे in I. 154 3 said about Viṣṇu, a solar deity and पूषा वृषा in X. 26.3 about another solar deity. The two epithets have also been combined. Agni has been called a 'brown or tawny *vṛṣan*' in VI 48. 6 and VII.10.1. The 'brown bull or breeder' in V. 12.6 यस्ते अग्ने नमसा यज्ञमीट्ट ऋतं स पात्यरुषस्य वृष्णः' may be Agni or may be some deity distinct from itself (the Sun). In IX.2.6 "अचिक्रदद्वृषा हरिर्महान्मित्रो न दर्शतः । सं सूर्येण रोचते ।।"

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15. Compare आ कृष्णेन रजसा वर्तमानो निवेशयन्नमृतं मर्त्यं च । हिरण्ययेन सविता रथेना देवो याति भुवनानि पश्यन् I. 35. 2 etc.

the *soma* has been called a 'tawny vṛṣan' and beautiful like Mitra (=Sun) and shining with Sūrya (=Sun). This suggests that Mitra is also a 'tawny vṛṣan' and we actually find the Sun called a bull and a ruddy bird in V. 47.3 "उक्षा समुद्रो अरुषः सुपर्णः पूर्वस्य योनिं पितुरा विवेश । मध्ये दिवो निहितः पृश्निरश्मा वि चक्रमे रजसस्पात्यन्तौ ॥" In VII. 88.1, "प्रशुन्ध्युवं वरुणाय प्रेष्ठां मतिं वसिष्ठ मील्हुषे भरस्व । य ईमर्वाञ्चं करते यजत्रं सहस्रामघं वृषणं बृहन्तम् ।" the 'lofty *vṛṣan*' is certainly the Sun and in the thirteenth book of the Atharva Veda the Sun appears simply as रोहित=the Red One. Instances may be multiplied. '*vṛṣan*' in *vṛṣākapi* may mean 'strong' or 'potent' and not 'bull'. The saturating power of the Sun is very frequently referred to in the Ṛgveda. May we not now unhesitatingly reject 'Mannaffe' for *vṛṣākapi* and substitute in its place 'strong or potent tawny-coloured animal', understanding thereby the Sun ?

I am now in a position to begin a translation of the hymn. There is not much obscurity about the meanings of the *words*. Consequently the different *translations* do not much differ from one another and mine too will not materially differ from those of my predecessors. There will naturally be a few differences here and there and these will be discussed in the notes on the different verses.

"(1) Men have given up the pressing of the Soma and they have not been worshipping Indra, whereas my friend Vṛṣākapi has been exhilarating himself in the wealth (*i.e.* offerings) of the pious (or the rich). Indra is superior to all.

(2) Thou passest by, Indra, without minding the transgression of Vṛṣākapi but thou findest not Some to drink anywhere else. Indra is superior to all.

(3) What has this tawny beast Vṛṣākapi done to thee, that thou grudgest him now the wealth (or offerings) of the pious (or the rich)? Indra is superior to all.

(4) Thy favourite Vṛṣākapi whom thou protectest, Indra, may the hound bite him, may the boar-hunter seize him in the ear. Indra is superior to all.

(5) This tawny animal has spoiled the dear wellmade and brightened things for me and I shall now break his head. I am not going to be indulgent towards a transgressor. Indra is superior to all.

(6) "No Dame hath ampler charms than I, or greater wealth of love's delights.

None with more ardour offers all her beauty to her lord's embrace."[16] Indra is superior to all.

(7) Yes, Madam, easily won, that is what will verily be. My buttocks, Madam, thighs and head seem to shake for very joy. Indra is superior to all.

(8) O thou of lovely arms and lovely fingers, of profuse tresses and broad hips, why afflictest, hero's wife, this our (poor) Vṛṣākapi? Indra is superior to all.

(9) This mischievous creature treats me as one without heroic issues, whereas I am a mother of heroic sons, Indra's wife am I and the Maruts' friend. Indra is superior to all.

(10) From ancient times this lady has been going to the common sacrifice and celebration. She, the rite's ordainer, hero's mother and Indra's wife, has been worshipped (everywhere). Indra is superior to all.

16. Griffith. I have given his free translation which somehow conveys the sense; for I could myself give only a literal translation and that would have been obscene.

(11) I have heard Indrāṇī as the blessed among all dames for her husband will not age and die even in future time. Indra is superior to all.

(12) I never joyed Indrāṇī, without my friend Vṛṣākapi, whose dear watery oblation goes to the gods. Indra is superior to all.

(13) O bounteous Vṛṣākapayi, having good sons and daughters-in-law too thy Indra will eat the dear....oblation of bulls. Indra is superior to all.

(14) They cook for me together fifteen bulls (or) twenty and I take their fat and they fill my belly on both the sides. Indra is superior to all.

(15) Let this drink, Indra, please thy heart, which is strong like a sharp-horned bull, bellowing among the herds, and which is pressed for thee by the person who wants to win thy love. Indra is superior to all.

(16), (17) (See commentary of Sāyaṇa quoted below).[17]

(18) May, Indra, Vṛṣākapi obtain a victim of wild beasts (?), the knife the oven, the new pan and also a cart with fuels filled. Indra is superior to all.

(19) I come viewing all the quarters discriminating the Dāsa and the Ārya and I drink the Soma pressed

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17. हे इन्द्र स जनो नेशे मैथुनं कर्तुं नेष्टे न शक्नोति यस्य जनस्य कपृत् शेपः प्रजननं सक्थ्या सक्थिनी अन्तरा रम्बते लम्बते सेत् स एव स्त्रीजने ईशे मैथुनं कर्तुं शक्नोति यस्य जनस्य निषेदुषः शयानस्त रोमशमुपस्थं विजृम्भते विवृतं भवति यस्य च पतिरिन्द्रो विश्वस्मादुत्तरः ॥१६॥ स जनो नेशे मैथुनं कर्तुं नेष्टे यस्य निषेदुषः शयानस्य रोमशमुपस्थं विजृम्भते विवृतं भवति सेत् स एव जनः ईशेईष्टे मैथुनं कर्तुं शक्नोति यस्य नरस्य कपृत् प्रजननं सक्थ्या सक्थिनी अन्तरा रम्बते लम्बते । सिद्धमन्यत् पूर्वोक्तव्यतिरेकोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः । पूर्वस्यामृचि यियप्सुरिन्द्राणीन्द्रं वदति अत्रायियप्सुरिन्द्र इन्द्राणीं वदतीत्यविरोधः ॥१७॥ ईशे=ईष्टे really means 'is strong or potent.'

only by the guileless votary and I look (with favour) on the wise. Indra is superior to all.

(20) The deserts, and the steep regions and how many are the leagues (thou hast to pass) ! Through them come down Vṛṣākapi to thy neither homes. Indra is superior to all.

(21) Come again Vṛṣākapi, blessed enjoyments we (too) shall arrange (for thee or for ourselves), thou who bringing sleep goest (down) again to thine home by thine (olden) path. Indra is superior to all.

(22) When you, Vṛṣākapi and Indra, who were on the upper heavens, went to your home, where was then the dread beast, where went that charmer (?) of people ? Indra is superior to all.

(23) Parśu, the human wife, brought forth together twenty children. It is good that happened to her whose womb had swelled and caused her pain. Indra is superior to all.

What story does the hymn tell us ? According to Professor Macdonell[18], "This hymn describes a dispute between Indra and his wife Indrāṇī about the monkey Vṛṣākapi, who is the favourite of the former and has damaged the property of the latter. Vṛṣākapi is soundly thrashed and escapes, but afterwards returns when a reconciliation takes place". Professor Geldner[19] says that it is "a dramatic scene in genuine popular style. Vṛṣākapi, an ape and a bastard of Indra, had on account of a threshing left the house and he has now alone and without Indra, called on people who are celebrating his

18. Vedic Mythology' p. 64

19. Der Ṛgveda in Auswahl II (kommentar) p. 184.

worship and have thereon almost forgotten the God (Indra) himself. During their vain search for Soma, Indra and Indrāṇī meet their naughty son and his consort at a banquet." Grassmann writes[20], "Dialogue between Indra and Indrāṇī in the presence of Vṛṣākapi and his wife Vṛṣākapāyī. Vṛṣākapi, literally 'the strong ape', 'the male ape', who has been directly called 'kapi' *i.e.* ape in verse 5, appears here as a being intermediate between a demigod and a demon. While he is a friend and comrade of Indra and sacrifices to him with zeal, he behaves himself wantonly with his wife Indrāṇī and torments people. The refrain at the end of each verse; 'Highest of all is Indra', obviously did not belong to the original hymn and since it breaks the connection everywhere, it has been omitted in the following translation. The hymn is twice interrupted by obscene passages (vv. 6, 7, 16, 17) that break the connection and also seem to have formerly formed natural parts of hymns in which husband and wife speak together. Verses 6 and 7 appear to have been taken from an obscene hymn and most likely verses 16 and 17 too. Vṛṣākapi threatened by Indrāṇī has been defended by Indra, especially on account of a sacrifice which he and his family offer to Indra, whereon Indrāṇī (v. 15) praises the brew she has prepared and derides the offering of Vṛṣākapi (v. 18). This Vṛṣākapi seems to have wished to fly away to impassable regions before the anger of Indrāṇī. Indra gives him his own and his wife's protection and asks him to return to the house (vv. 20-21)." Tilak in his Orion (Chapter VII (tries to prove that the hymn has an astronomical meaning. According to him, Vṛṣākapi is the Sun who

20. Ṛgveda, übersetzt, II, p. 484.

has the vernal equinox in the Orion. After the autumnal equinox, the Sun passes to the southern hemisphere and Tilak thinks that sacrifices were then stopped. According to him the hymn records Indrāṇī's chagrin at this stoppage of sacrifices for her lord; and she is wroth with the *mṛga* (Orion) whose acronycal rising was "a signal to stop such ceremonies, and oblations could properly be said to have been spoilt by the appearance of this constellation at the beginning of night."[21] Indrāṇi wishes to cut off (=actually cuts off, according to Tilak) this *mṛga's* head and the cut off head of the 'antelope' is the constellation *Canis Major*. Indrāṇī is reconciled with Vṛṣākapi (=the Sun) when he comes back *i.e.* returns from the southern hemishpere (at the vernal equinox), whereon sacrifices can go on again.

In interpreting obscure passages of an old text like the Ṛgveda the imagination has to be exercised a good deal. But this faculty should be used with considerable restraint. I cannot help feeling that my predecessors used their imaginations too freely. The ultimate determining factor is the text itself. I have used my imagination in the understanding of the hymn, but have confined it within the narrow limits of actual text and have throughout sought (and found) parallels for the meanings that the words of the hymn seemed to warrant. I now give below my own interpretation but before doing that I must offer some remarks about the views quoted above. The European interpreters have been all misled by their supposition that *kapi* in *Vṛṣākapi* means 'an ape'. But I have shown already that *kapi* should mean 'a tawny-coloured

21. Orion (reprinted by Ashteker, p. 179).

animal' and *Vṛṣākapi* stands for the Sun. This natural supposition would have saved Geldner and Grassmann from a host of wild guesses. Geldner[22] thinks that the statement of Ṣaḍguruśiṣya "वृषाकपिर्नामेन्द्रस्य पुत्रः शचीसपत्न्यां जातः" means that *Vṛṣākapi* is a *bastard* of Indra. This betrays a lamentable ignorance of Oriental conditions. Monogamy was not a rigid rule in the time of Ṣaḍguruśiṣya or Sāyaṇa or the seers of the Vedic hymns themselves. Indrāṇī's co-wife, the mother of Vṛṣākapi would be as good a married wife of Indra as Indrāṇī herself and consequently Vṛṣākapi would be as legitimate a son of Indra as Indrānī's sons would be. Besides showing an unbridled imagination Grassmann makes a number of assumptions about the original text of the hymn which have no warrant save his own inability to understand the connections. Against Tilak, I have to say that *mṛga* does not mean in the Ṛgveda an 'antelope' but 'any wild animal' (an animal of the chase) and he has himself admitted that no trace of the constellation *Canis Major* (Tilak's *śvan* in Sanskrit) is found in Sanskrit literature. Hence all those suppositions about the cut-off head of the antelope with a dog-star behind it at the acronycal rising of the Orion when sacrifices have to be stopped at once fall to the ground. No scientific mind will consider seriously an interpretation according to which Vṛṣākapi at one place means the Sun in the Orion, and at another place in the same hymn the constellation Orion rising in the eastern horizon when the Sun sets (being now at a distance of 180° from the constellation). I do not say more, because to show the untenability of the various assumptions of Tilak would require double the space he has himself devoted to the subject. It is a matter of pity for the cause of science that the

22. Vedische Studien, II, 23.

greatness of Lokamānya Tilak's character, both personal and political, and his real fame for vast erudition create an undue prejudice in our country in favour of his historical conclusions.

Now for my own interpretation. The hymn most clearly refers to an orthodox opposition against the worship of Vṛṣākapi (=Viṣṇu=the Sun god) to the exclusion of the old national god Indra. This opposition is expressed dramatically through the mouth of Indrāṇī, Indra's wife, who is the person that is most likelv to be affected at her husband's loss of worship. She is naturally indignant with Vṛṣākapi for whose sake her lord has been deprived of his wanted oblations (vv. 1 and 2). She tries to rouse the anger of her all-powerful lord against this insolent beast (vv. i, 2, 5, 9) but all her efforts fail and the old hero expresses his love for and kinship with Vṛṣākapi whose celebration cannot move him to jealousy (vv. 3, 8, 12). Indrāṇī fails and the worship of Vṛṣākapi receives the weighty support of Indra himself (vv. 19-21). The 'seer' of the hymn, who is obviously an exclusive worshipper of this diety Vṛṣākapi (=Viṣṇu=the Sun god), cleverly disarms orthodox opposition by making Indra himself sanction this worship and by the diplomatic[23] refrain at the end of each verse, "विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः" (Indra is the highest of all). This interpretation is based on the actual text (in the understanding of which the imagination has been used with considerable restraint) and it leaves no portion of the hymn out of account. The refrain, verses 6 and 7 and 16 and 17 and 23 (the concluding one which none has ere this been able to satisfactorily connect with the previous

23. The person who verbally acknowledges the supremacy of Indra cannot be branded as a 'heretic'.

verses) have all been found to be connected with the rest of the hymn. I have also found Ṛgvedic parallels for all the new meanings I have proposed. Let me now give reasons for the few innovations I have made in the *translation* and for the new *interpretation* I have just proposed and let me further explain my position. This will be best done by taking up each verse and discussing its meaning. I may, however, mention here the legend given in the Brahma Purāṇa (ch. 129) of Abjaka Vṛṣākapi, a man having the nature of Śiva and Viṣṇu, who was produced from the water by Śiva, the Godāvarī and Viṣṇu at the prayer of Indra and Śacī. It is possible that the Purāṇa understands *kapi* to mean a *monkey* but that is quite natural. I therefore do not feel disposed to accept the suggestion of Mr. Pargiter (J.R.A. S., 1911, p. 808-9) about the Dravidian origin of the Vṛṣākapi cult or to think that the Purāṇic story is not based on our hymn.

Verse 1—This verse is put in the mouth of Indra by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, Sāyaṇa and Geldner but of Indrāṇī by Mādhavabhaṭṭa (quoted by Sāyaṇa on X. 86.1), Durgācārya (on Nir. XIII. 4) and Ludwig. I take it to be spoken by Indrāṇī for it contains a note of complaint. Indra would not complain against Vṛṣākapi who is his favourite (cf. v. 12) अ॒र्यः is taken by Yāska (?)[24], Sāyaṇa and Geldner in the Second Volume of the Vedische Studien as nominative singular of अ॒र्य (meaning 'lord', an adjective of वृ॒षाक॑पिः). But Geldner in the third Volume of his Vedische Studien (III. 86) and in the Kommentar (p. 184) corrected himself by taking it as genitive singular of अ॒रि (=आ॒र्य= Aryan). Oldenberg (Ṛgveda, text kritische and exegeti-

24. Nir. XIII. 4. It is highly doubtful if Yāska is the author of the supplementary chapters (XIII and XIV)

sche Noten, II, 290) supports this corretion. अर्यः should be therefore connected with पुष्टेषु, Indrāṇī complains that when Vṛṣākapi (who is only her 'friend' or relation) is revelling at the feasts Aryans are offering, her husband gets neither his wanted libation of Soma nor the worship (√ *man*=to worship) Aryans had been offering him so long. Indrāṇī cannot brook this insult of her husband (and of herself) when she sees Vṛṣākapi preferred to her lord. As is usual with women in such circumstances, she becomes angry with Vṛṣākapi.

Verse 2—This verse is ascribed by all to Indrāṇī and there can be no doubt on the point. Indrāṇī is wroth with Vṛṣākapi for he eats and drinks the offerings (principally the Soma) that were her husband's due and she points out to Indra the transgression of this wretch. She wonders why her husband feels no anger against this transgressor; Indra should not condone the offence for he is getting nothing himself ("thou dost not get soma to drink in any other place").

Verse 3:—Ṣaḍguruśiṣya and Sāyaṇa ascribe this verse to Indrāṇī but Geldner, Griffith, Ludwig and Oldenberg are more justified in putting it in Indra's month. Indrāṇī has tried in the previous verse to rouse the anger of Indra against Vṛṣākapi but Indra asks in wonder, what makes her so much wroth with Vṛṣākapi that she grudges him the rich offerings of the Aryans 'हरितो मृगः=कपिः='yellow or tawny-coloured animal'. अर्यः here has the same formation and syntactical connection as in v.1.

Verse 4:—Attributed by all to Indrāṇī. Indra's astonished question makes Indrāṇī lose her temper. She had expected that Indra would be estranged from Vṛṣākapi the moment she brought to his notice the latter's offence. But she finds to her horror that Indra is speaking

sympathetically about Vṛṣākapi. She now starts the various feminine guiles for inducing a husband's obedience. The first weapon that she uses is a show of violent passion. She curses the wretched animal (Vṛṣākapi) whom Indra seeks to defend. Griffith takes व॒रा॒ह॒युः to be an adjective to श्वा and translates c and d as one sentence: "Soon may the hound who hunts the boar seize him and bite him in the ear." This construction is possible or perhaps probable but not altogether certain. In taking desparately we have to supply a new verb, for ज॒म्भि॒ष॒द् will not do here. On the other hand कर्णे॑ is better construed with c. consequently d should be connected with c. But if we supply in d some verb meaning 'may shoot' or 'may pierce', "let the boar-hunter shoot at or pierce his ear" will by itself make quite good sense. Griffith's construction though simpler has the defect of making अपि॑ superfluous. However, I leave the question undecided. But I ask my readers to remember the word व॒रा॒ह॒युः for I shall have to refer to it again.

Verse: 5:—Again Indrāṇī's words according to all authorities. Indrāṇī continues in the same vein. But she first gives the ground for her anger. She has already said how Vṛṣākapi has been snatching away the portion of Indra. This altogether failed to make any impression on Indra for he asked in wonder why he grudged the 'beast' his sacrificial feast. Indrāṇī therefore changes her charge and now gives out that Vṛṣākapi had harmed *her* too. What is the harm she had suffered at his hand ? Grassmann and Griffith suppose that Indrāṇī accuses Vṛṣkāpi of having wantonly assaulted her. But where is the text to warrant such a view. ? The words are simply "प्रि॒या त॒ष्टानि॑ मे क॒पिर्व्य॑क्ता व्यंदूदुषत्" here. क॒पिः is short form for वृ॒षाकं॑पिः and has the same meaning ('tawny'—tawny-coloured animal) as हरिं॑तो

मृगः in v. 3. What things of Indrāṇī does this 'tawny-coloured animal' spoil ? Geldner[25] supposes that प्रिया तष्टानि = the delightful limbs of Indrāṇī in which lies her womanly attraction but about which Vṛṣākapi speaks ill (व्यदूदुषत्). But the word तष्टानि does not warrant this interpretation. It is derived from √ तक्ष् 'to artifice'; तष्टानि would therefore mean 'well-made'. व्यक्ता is from √ अञ्ज् 'to besmear'; व्यक्ता (=व्यक्तानि) would literally mean 'well besmeared'. I therefore see no reason for rejecting the interpretation of Sāyaṇa for तष्टानि (यजमानैः कल्पितानि हवींषि 'offerings prepared by the worshippers') and व्यक्ता ('आज्यैः विशेषेण अक्तानि' 'well besmeared with *ghee*'). मे may be in the sixth case ('of me') or, as Sāyaṇa takes it, in the fourth—dative of interest ('for me'). Consequently, I understand 'प्रिया तष्टानि मे कपिर्व्यक्ता व्यदूदुषत्' to mean that Indrāṇī accuses Vṛṣākapi of having spoiled the offerings of sacrificial cakes &c., she had been expecting, by eating of them and thereby turning the things into impure offals. This is a personal insult and as Indra seems to preserve a stolid appearance, Indrāṇī proposes to take the law into her own hands and punish the transgressor herself.

Verse 6:—Indrāṇī speaks again. She attempted to rouse the anger of Indra against Vṛṣākapi by mentioning in verses 1 and 2 how Indra was being injured by Vṛṣākapi. Verse 3 shows the callousness of Indra. In Verse 5, Indrāṇī said that she too was harmed by this 'tawny beast' and in the same way. To make Indra feel for her she now recounts her personal charms expecting thereby to seduce him into compliance. Her threat in v. 5 c d was an idle one.

Verse 7: –This verse is ascribed by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya,

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25. Kommentar, p. 185.

Sāyaṇa, Geldner and Oldenberg to Vṛṣākapi and by Ludwig and Griffith to Indrāṇī. There is nothing in the previous verse to show that it was addressed to Vṛṣākapi. Why should then Vṛṣākapi thrust himself here? हृष्यति cannot be satisfactorily explained if Vṛṣākapi is the speaker here. The root हृष् means 'to be excited.' Vṛṣākapi's head may *tremble* for fear but cannot surely be *excited* with joy or (anger) and this 'trembling for fear' can be understood only after Indrāṇī's threats in verses 4 and 5 and not after the mention of her personal charms in verse 6. Besides, the address सुलाभिके ('O thou, easy of access') for Indrāṇī is altogether inappropriate in Vṛṣākapi's mouth. She is not his wife but Indra's. Nor can the verse be ascribed to Indrāṇī for who can then be 'the mother easy of access'? I therefore propose to take this verse as coming from Indra as the following one is according to all opinions. Verse 6 was apparently addressed to him and we may well expect his reply now. It is the vocative अम्ब ('O mother') that has misled these interpreters for Indrāṇī is Indra's wife and not mother. Tilak who ascribes this verse to Indra says, "I prefer taking *ambā* as an affectionate and respectful mode of address, as in modern Sanskrit, and the verse presents no difficulty". But apparently अम्ब means (or may mean) 'O mother of your child (Vṛṣākapi)'. In many countries, fathers often address their wives as 'mother'—meaning of course 'mother of our children'. The word अम्ब may have been similarly used here. Indrāṇī mentions her personal charms in v.6. Indra admits her superiority in beauty in v.7 a and b: though Indrāṇī surrenders her charms for enjoyment, almost unasked, these are of no mean order—she is really, as she claims to be, the first in beauty. Indrāṇī's personal charms are also referred to elsewhere; compare Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā

III, 8, 4 and Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa II, 4-2-7. in v.7 c and d, Indra admits with great courtesy[26] that her charms have an appeal for him.

Verse 8:—Indra's words according to all authorities. Indra repeats in lines a and b the excellence of Indrāṇī's personal charms. But in c and d he asks her again what makes her angry with Vṛṣākapi. There seems to be some significance in the address शूरपत्नि ('O hero's wife') : it is probably meant that a hero's wife should not chastise a poor creature like Vṛṣākapi.

Verse 9:—Indrāṇī replies, अवीराम् is paraphrased in the Nirukta (VI.31) by अबलाम्. But the accent is not of a नञ् तत्पुरुष but of a बहुव्रीहि[27]. Consequently the meaning is 'not having heroes (or a hero)'. Now वीर in the Ṛgveda generally means[28] 'a heroic son' or simply 'a son' 'अवीराम् in line a is matched by वीरिणी in line c which certainly means 'having a hero or heroes'. Griffith translates 'अहम् अस्मि वीरिणी' by "Heroes for my sons have I". Why does he render then अवीराम् by "one bereft of hero's love"? Geldner renders *vīrā* in both अवीराम् and वीरिणी by 'son'. Childless women are generally held in much contempt. Indrāṇī says that she is being treated as such a one by Vṛṣākapi. But she emphatically declares that she is वीरिणी 'with children' for she is Indra's wife who can never be childless. Vṛṣākapi is certainly not her own son. Then what is her issue? 'I am a friend of the Maruts' probably means that these Maruts are her sons. I translate *sakhā*

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26. I say 'with courtesy' because the उ (वि is to be connected with हृष्यति) shows that his body is not actually excited with joy.
27. Pānini VI. 2.2 (with Vārtika on it) and VI. 2.172 Macdonell's Vedic Grammar (Grundriss) § 890 Bc. 91 A, 2-b.
28. See Grassmann, Wörterbuch, 1316.

by 'friend' in verses 1 and 9; but it is possible that in both the places the word has the connotation of *kinship*. A lady blessed with heroic children (the Maruts ?) should not be deprived of her share in the festive offering, consequently Vṛṣākapi has no justification in snatching away her portion. It seems now that Ṣaḍguruśiṣya is right in conceiving Vṛṣākapi as the step son of Indrāṇī. Indian folklore abounds in stories of a step-mother afflicting her stepson and we find here Indrāṇī trying to alienate her husband from her 'step-son' Vṛṣākapi.

Verse 10:—Ṣaḍguruśiṣya and Sāyaṇa ascribe this verse to Indrāṇī. Similarly Ludwig and Griffith. Geldner in the Vedische Studien[29] put it in the mouth of Vṛṣākapi but later[30] corrected himselr by making Indrāṇī or Indra the speaker. Oldenberg too understands it as coming from the mouth of either Indrāṇī or Indra. I do not know for certain to which of the two the verse could be ascribed with better justice; it may be equally understood as Indrāṇī's speech or as Indra's utterance. However, I give preference to Indrāṇī hypothetically. But the meaning remains unaltered in either case. Barren women are considered a curse and they are likely to be excluded from festive meetings. But Indrāṇī, verse 10 informs us, is both the 'mother of heroes' (वीरिणी) and has accompanied her husband to sacrifices. (In actual ritual Indrāṇi had a share in the sacrifice.)

Verse 11:—This verse is attributed to Vṛṣākapi by Durgācārya (on Nir. XI. 38). Geldner makes Vṛṣākapāyī (wife or Vṛṣākapi) the speaker but his reasons are not apparent to me. Ṣāḍgurśiṣya, Sāyaṇa[31], Ludwig, Griffith

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29. II, 26.
30. Kommentar, 185.
31. Sāyaṇa's atternative ascription to Vṛṣākapi is the result of Durgācārya's influence.

and Oldenberg ascribe it to Indra. I think they are correct; for Indrāṇī addressed Indra and we would expect him to reply. The following verse which is certainly Indra's, does not contain any indication of a fresh speech. Leaving out the uncertain verse 10, we may hold that Indra replies to Indrāṇī in vv 11-14. In v. 11, Indra tries to soothe Indrāṇī. He says that she is the luckiest of women. Women in India (and probably everywhere else) consider the longivity and love of their husbands and the existence and well-being of thier sons as the hig--hest fortune. Indrāṇī has this fortune. How then can she be excluded from sacrifices ? The word *subhāgā* probably means here both beautiful and fortunate.

Verse 12:—Durgācārya ascribes it to Vṛṣākapi[32] perhaps carelessly for he contradicts himself in the very next sentence by saying "इन्द्रो ब्रवीति". All else ascribe the verse to Indra. Indra tried to soothe Indrāṇī in the previous verse by making her the luckiest of women. He fully understands that Indrāṇī's real complaint was that Vṛṣākapi was receiving worship in the place of Indra and that the accusation in verse 5 and 9 is a clever lie or at least is secondary (being thrown out to rouse Indra from his callousness). Consequently he now gives his reply only on the point of his own alleged loss of worship.[33] He says that he never enjoys without his friend Vṛṣākapi. Consequently how can he envy him the wor-

32. "समानो विनियोगः पूर्वया, आर्षं च" on Nir. XI. 39 (M. M. Pandit Śivadatta's edition). The previous verse commented on is the preceding one of our hymn, where Durga said "वृषाकपेरार्षम्",

33. Had Indrāṇī charged Vṛṣākapi with having wantonly assaulted her as Grassmann and Griffith suppose, we would certainly have had Indra's reply on the point, if not actual retribution for that misdeed.

ship and oblations that he is receiving ? अप्यं हविः 'watery oblation' probably refers to the Soma juice. Not only is Vṛṣākapi dear unto Indra, he is the favourite of all the gods. His dear oblation goes to all the gods and that means that all the gods enjoy his worship. How then can Indrāṇī incite envy against this dear friend of Indra ? (It should be remembered that Viṣṇu has been called इन्द्रस्य युज्यः सखा Indra's fast friend in R.V. I. 22. 19).

Verse 13:—Now comes some difficulty. Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, Sāyaṇa, Ludwig, Geldner and Griffith ascribe the verse to Vṛṣākapi but it seems better to follow Durgācārya[34] and Oldenberg in understanding Indra to be the speaker. Indra is the speaker of verses 12 and 14. What expression is there in v. 13 to show that it comes from a different mouth ? The vocative वृषाकपायि presents great difficulty. Who is this Vṛṣākapāyī ? The formation of the word seems to make her the wife of Vṛṣākapi and this is the only meaning which classical usage can attach to the word. Yāska (XII-8) following this usage ascribes this meaning to the word and he seems to be supported by the Nighaṇṭu (v. 6) enumeration. But it is possible that Vṛṣākapāyī means here Vṛṣākapi's mother (=step-mother, i. e. Indrāṇī) and not wife. This is the only meaning that can apparently suit the context. Sāyaṇa knew Yāska's words and the usage of his time. Still he felt constrained by the actual text to reject them in favour of the meaning Indrāṇī. His words are interesting as they show how he seeks not to do violence to the accepted formation of Vṛṣākapāyī; he says, "हे वृषाकपायि । कामनां वर्षकत्वादभीष्टदेशगमनाच्च इन्द्रो वृषाकपिस्तस्य पत्नि । यद्वा (being more sensible now) वृषाकपेः=मम (because he ascribes the verse to Vṛṣākapi) मातर् इत्यर्थः". The mention of her good sons

34. On Nir. XII. 9.

and daughters-in-law may make one take Vṛṣākapāyī to be none other than Indrāṇī who has emphatically called herself वीरिणी (mother of heroes) in verse 9. The wealth referred to in the vocative रेवति connects itself naturally with the good fortune mentioned in verse 11. Verse 13 may therefore be taken as Indra's words addressed to Indrāṇī. Indra continues with his consolation. He first humours Indrāṇī by mentioning her wealth of children. He now says that he will take the offering of bulls. This probably means that though Vṛṣākapi gets the Soma oblation, Indra is not going unfed, for bulls are being offered to him. It is possible (or rather certain) that the Soma formed the chief offering and oblation of bulls etc. may possibly have been given to the secondary deities. Indra was the chief god of the Aryans for ages and the Some was his special food. But the present hymn shows him brought down to a lower place and Vṛṣākapi (=the Sun=Viṣṇu) elevated to his seat. Consequently our poet makes Indra approve the offering of Soma for Vṛṣākapi in verse 12 and the oblation of bulls for himself in verse 13. The word काचित्करम् is obscure to me and I have therefore left it untranslated in the rendering given above. Yāska gives it the meaning 'giving great joy'. Sāyaṇa necessarily follows him. Of European interpreters, Geldner[35] gives with a little hesitation 'what is of worth', Grassmann 'efficacious' and Ludwig and Griffith 'that which effecteth much'. The adjective प्रियं shows that Indra is thoroughly satisfied with the हविः that he is now getting and he has therefore no cause to be jealous of Vṛṣākapāyī. ते can be connected with उक्षणः ='thy bulls', but I prefer to connect it with the word that immediately follows it, *viz.*, इन्द्रः; ते इन्द्रः=thy Indra'=

35. Glossar, p. 44

'Indra in whom thou art particularly interested'. That the bulls are not the offerings of Vṛṣākapāyī (=Indrāṇī) but of the humen worshippers is evidenced by the plural number in the verb पचंन्ति of the following verse.

Note:—If वृषाकंपायि cannot mean 'Vṛṣākapi's mother' but must needs mean, on the analogy of अग्नायीं (इन्द्राणी, वरुणानी etc), Vṛṣākapi's wife', considerable alteration will have to be made in the interpretation of this verse. I can suggest an alteration which would both suit the context and fit in with my interpretations of the remaining verses (with, of course, slight modifications here and there). See below under note on verse 19 for this meaning which I *prefer* though I have relegated it to a note.

Verse 14:—The verse is ascribed by all to Indra and no doubt is possible on the point. Indra makes here a complimeniary reference the bulls that worshippers cook for him. The number of these bulls is according to Sāyaṇa 15+20=35. But I prefer to take it as '15 *or* 20'; if च can be supplied, surely वा can be.

Verse 15—It is put in the mouth of Vṛṣākapāyī by Geldner and to herself or her: husband Vṛṣākapi by Oldenberg but their reasons are not apparent to me. I therefore follow Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, Sāyaṇa, Ludwing and Griffith in attributing the verse to Indrāṇī. Indranī now tries to win over Indra to her own view by rousing in him a temptation for the Soma draught. Indra has said in v. 12 that he is satisfied that the offering of Soma goes to Vṛṣākapi, which all the gods enjoy, and in vv. 13[36] and 14 that he is himself contended with only the offering of bulls. Indrāṇī now (in v. 15) praises the draught of Soma that his भ्रातृयु: prepares for him. The भ्रातृयु: ('seeker of

36. But also see below under note on. v. 19.

his *bhāva*=love') may be Indrāṇi herself, in which case the Soma offering is made by her. But this is neither certain nor necessary, for the word may easily mean any devoted worshipper of Indra (*i. e.* an orthodox Aryan who had not given up pressing of Soma for Indra). Indra has expressed satisfaction at the bulls he is now getting as his portion. Indrāṇī therefore calls the Soma drink which he is now willingly going without as "like a sharp-horned bull bellowing among the herds." She expects thus to rouse his old fondness for this drink and then to make him jealous of Vṛṣākapi, the fellow who has usurped his place at the sacrifice.

Verse 16:—All ascribe this verse to Indrāṇī and I have no hesitation in following them. Wine and woman are the two great seducers of man. Indrāṇī tried the seduction of the former in the previous verse. Of the latter she has made an attempt already (v. 6) but she makes here a last frantic effort. She here derides the person who refrain from intercourse with woman. Her hope is that Indra will no longer be able to contain himself but will give himself up to her charms; and she will secure the banishment of Vṛṣākapi from the general worship of people.[37] Geldner thinks that स: in the first half refers to Vṛṣākapi and in the second to Indra. But what ground is there for such a difference in treatment ? Two different types of men are contrasted here : the type

37. Compare Kekayī's (successful) attempt in the Rāmāyaṇa to secure the banishment of Rāma on the strength of her loving services to king Daśaratha rendered in the past. Compare also Iliad XIV, where Hera charms away Zeus from the view of the battle, that her own partisans, the Achaians, may not be thwarted by the great god in their attempts against Hector and the Trojan host.

mentioned in the first half is that of the celibate whom Indrāṇī derides as impotent and in the second comes in the bull-blooded gallant who is the really strong man according to her. Geldner's quotation[38] from the Hitopadeśa[39] is neither here nor there but the reference to R. V. VIII. 1.34 is quite apposite.

Verse 17.-Geldner ascribes it to Vṛṣākapāyī but there can be no sense in this view. I have already shown that *Kapi* in *Vṛṣākapi* does not mean 'monkey'. There is besides no difference between a monkey and a man (or a god anthropomorphically conceived) that would justify Vṛṣākapi's wife in reversing the statement of Indrāṇī.[40] I therefore feel no hesitation in rejecting Geldner's view. Ṣaḍguruśiṣya makes Indrāṇī the speaker. But why should she think of contradicting herself, of saying here just the opposite of what she has recently said ? According to Sāyaṇa's statement in the सूक्तावतरणी too, Indrāṇi is the speaker of this verse but in his comments on the verse he makes Indra the speaker. Indra is the speaker according to Ludwig too. This is perfectly intelligible and I follow it. Indrāṇī set a trap for Indra in the previous verse and he here just refuses to be caught in it. He denies the correctness of her statement. He says that the person who wastes his manhood in sexual intercourse is the really impotent man, and the strong man is he who stores up his energy by continence.

38. Kommentar, p. 186.

39. "ततः तस्य मुष्कद्वयं लम्बमानम्", Hitopadeśa, ed. Peterson, p. 50.

40. Had the hero of the Hitopadeśa story been a man, his मुष्कद्वय would not have been लम्बमान only because of his clothes whose use the poor monkey did not know. The apish character lay not in the dangling of the मुष्कद्वय but in the animal's pulling out the wedge.

Sāyaṇa's remark on the difference with the previous verse deserves quoting again : "पूर्वोक्तव्यतिरेकोऽत्र द्रष्टव्यः। पूर्वस्यामृचि यियप्सुरिन्द्राणी इन्द्रं वदति अत्र अयियप्सुरिन्द्र इन्द्राणीं वदतीत्यविरोधः॥"

Verse 18.—Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, Sāyaṇa, Griffith and Ludwig ascribe it to Indrāṇī. Geldner stands alone in making Vṛṣākapāyī the speaker and he may be safely left alone. No wife of Vṛṣākapi probably takes part in this dialogue.[41] परंस्वन्तम् is a difficult word and I do not understand its precise meaning. A wild animal may be meant but what particular animal I cannot make out. Indrāṇī's purpose has been foiled by Indra and she has no choice but to make up her quarrel. She now suffers Vṛṣākapi to receive हुतं परंस्वन्तम्, अुसिम्, सूनाम् and all that gear.

Note.—Does Indrāṇī want to suggest with feigned innocence that Vṛṣākapi should receive in the sacrifice animal offerings (which are really of secondary importance), [So that the chief offering—the Soma—might go over to her lord] ? परंस्वन्तम् would then correspond to 'the fifteen or twenty bulls' Indra shows himself contended with in verse 14.

Verse 19.—All previous interpreters have put this verse in Indra's mouth and this ascription may be correct. If so, Indra probably means that as he goes about viewing people and discriminating between the Aryan and the non-Aryan, he cannot accept any and every offering that is given to him but must need make a selection—पिबामि पाकसुत्वनः : 'I drink of the oblation offered by the artless votary'. Hence what cares he, if he is not universally worshipped ? But probably Indra is not the speaker here. Indrāṇī has already said (v. 2), नो अह प्र विन्दस्यन्यत्र सोमपीतये

41. Though of course she may have been addressed in v. 13.

'Nor receivest thou elsewhere Soma to drink.' It is difficult therefore to understand पिबांमि पाकुसुत्वंनः to refer to Indra. The root *su* shows that the Soma drink is meant. If Indra is *nowhere* offered Soma, according to Indrāṇī's statement, how can he have the drink of guileless (पाकं) pressers of Soma (सुत्वंन्) ? I therefore propose to take Vṛṣākapi to be the speaker. The previous verse shows Indrāṇī reconciled to him and he may have made bold to open his lips now. Vṛṣākapi is certainly glad now and can we not expect him to break into a description of his own doings ? "I come viewing all the quarters, discriminating the Dāsa and the Ārya" would be more appropriate in the lips of Vṛṣākapi, a solar god; though "discriminating the Dāsa and the Ārya" alone will easily suit Indra. In VIII $\frac{80}{91}$ 2 it has been said about Indra "एर्षि...गृहंगृ'हं वि॒चाकंशत्" 'thou comest looking from door to door' and that may be considered as parallel to "अ॒यमेंमि वि॒चाकंशत्" here. But the passage in the eightth *maṇḍala* qualifies वि॒चाकंशत् by गृहंगृ'हम्—Indra looks at every door (for his coveted Soma)—whereas in the passage under discussion, there being no such qualification, 'viewing all the quarters' would be the only natural sense. This latter meaning is more intelligible in the case of a solar deity; *c. f.* 'विजनां च्छ्यावाः शितिपादों अ॒रव्यंन्' (I.35.5), "वि द्यामेंषि॒...पश्यु॒न्जन्मांनि सूर्य" (I.50.7) etc. If we take Vṛṣākapi to be the speaker, the whole verse becomes easily intelligible and connection with the previous and the following verses becomes quite patent. Indrāṇī said in v. 18 that Vṛṣākapi might receive his (usual ?) meat—offering and he probably brags now of his greatness—as he goes through the firmament viewing all creatures, he can well understand who is the Aryan (bounteous) offerer and who is the Dāsa (niggard). Indra

has been frequently mentioned as preferring the bounteous Aryan over the niggardly non-Aryan (Dāsa or Paṇi). Vṛṣākapi therefore probably lays claim to the same function. He complacently speaks of how he accepts the Soma drink (that was formerly Indra's wont). The connexion with the following verses will be manifest below.

Note.—If the suggestion thrown out in the previous note can be accepted, the following alteration should be made. Indrāṇī suggested in v. 18 with feigned innocence that Vṛṣākapi should content himself with offerings of animals (only). But the clever Vṛṣākapi, supremely conscious of his own importance and Indra's kind indulgence, replies here, "I travel through the whole firmament looking at people and discriminating the Dāsa[42a] and Ārya (and I shall therefore claim, as a matter of right, the Soma offering of the pious=Aryan worshipper)". Failing to win Indra over to her view, Indrāṇī may have tried in v. 18 to induce Vṛṣākapi (her very object of envy) to surrender the Soma offering (to her lord) but he insists on having this oblation.

Indrāṇī may have already (in v. 13) approached Vṛṣākapi's wife with a similar request, if वृषाकपायि means 'Vṛṣākapi's wife'. Failing to rouse the anger of Indra, she may have asked the rich[42b] wife of Vṛṣākapi to allow Indra to share in 'her bulls and dear काचित्कर oblation'. If Vṛṣākapi's wife is सुपुत्रा and सुस्नुषा, Vṛṣākapi may well have derided Indrāṇī on account of her barrenness (see v. 9.) "प्रियं काचित्करं हविः" in v. 13 may be a parallel to 'अप्यं हविः प्रियम्' in the previous verse, in which case काचित्करम् may correspond to अप्यम् and mean 'watery' or

42 a. Dāsa does not have a racial connotation, it has the connotation of one who is impious and ignoble (vide paper on Dāsa)

42 b. In the offerings she and her lord receive from their worshippers ?

better 'cooling'. If Vṛṣākapi's wife has been addressed in v. 13, ते॒ should be connected with उ॒क्षणः॑ &c.—Indrāṇī prays that Vṛṣākapāyī should allow Indra to share in the offerings of bulls and the Soma oblation that she receives (along with her lord). Vṛṣākapāyī probably pays no heed but Indra magnanimously interposes in v. 14 that he is satisfied with only bulls (secondary offerings?) and is content to go without the Soma (principal offering?). But Indrāṇī tries in v. 15 to induce a longing for the draught in Indra's mind. In v. 16 she tries erotic inducements but is rebutted in the following verse. In despair, she approaches in v. 18 Vṛṣākapi himself but he too is impervious (v. 19) to her entreaties. Her case is wholly lost and she must have the good grace to show herself reconciled to Vṛṣākapi (vv. 21, 22 or 20-22 below).

Verse 20.—This verse is ascribed by all to Indra. At the mention in v. 19*a* of Vṛṣākapi's motion through the firmament, Indra probably makes here a complimentary reference to that cosmic feat of the solar deity धन्व॑ च॒ यत्कृ॒न्तत्रं॑ च॒ कति॑स्वि॒त्ता वि योज॑ना requires a gerund meaning 'crossing (which)' or a particle meaning '(through which)' to complete the sense and to connect it with the other half of the verse and I consider this supplying of the ellipsis simpler and more natural than the construction put upon the verse by my predecessors. Griffith translates, "The desert plains and steep descents, how many leagues in length they spread! Go to the nearest houses, go unto thine home, Vṛṣākapi. Supreme is Indra over all". He has but followed Ludwig and Grassmann. He thus annotates on the passage, "Vṛṣākapi appears to meditate flight into distant deserts to escape from the wrathful Indrāṇī. Indra dissuades him, and promises to

reconcile Indrāṇī to him". Is this not a far-fetched interpretation? There is no explicit or implicit reference to Vṛṣākapi's flight for fear of Indrāṇī in any of the previous verses. Why then this assumption of his flight? Verse 18 has shown Indrāṇī suggesting that Vṛṣākapi should receive au offering of animals, slaughtered and duly cooked. Probably an earlier verse (v. 13) contains her pleading to Vṛṣākapi's wife. How can he then still fear her so as to *contemplate* a flight to distant lands? If it be said, that he has *already* left for those regions and is being coaxed now to return as he has no *angry* mother (or step-mother) to meet now, the difficulty about Indrāṇī's address to Vṛṣākapāyī in v. 13 and her reference about Vṛṣākapi in v. 18 remain unaccountable. Verse 19 too, as coming from Vṛṣākapi's lips militates against such an assumption. But if the verse is to be ascribed to Indra, why should he waste words over what he does or does not when his favourite 'son' has to be recalled from voluntary banishment? To connect the two halves of the verse Grassmann uses the conjunction 'therefore' ('drum'). He consequently means that the speaker of v. 20 tries to impress on Vṛṣākapi the frightful character of the way he has chosen and asks him to leave it for a safer land, the land where he has his home. But as Vṛṣākapi has chosen that region (if he has gone there at all) with full knowledge and on purpose—so as to remain safe from Indrāṇī—how can he be induced to leave it through fear? We should expect instead mention of Indrāṇī's present good will (सौमनस or सुम्न), the only possible inducement.

I therefore supply 'crossing which' or 'through which' to connect the two halves of the verse. I have already referred to I. 35.8 *a, b* 'अष्टौ व्यंख्यत् ककुभः पृथिव्यास्त्री धन्व योजंना"

and mentioned that as a parallel to X 86. 20 *a, b* धन्वं and योजंना are common to both and कृन्तत्रं if it means 'steep regions', as most interpreters have understood the word, is the exact correspondent of ककुभः (peaks[43]) in I. 35. 8 a. The obvious conclusion from this correspondence is the solar character of Vṛṣākapi. Geldner[44] has cited I. 35. 8 as parallel but has not realised its necessary implication. If Indra spoke in v. 19, he asks Vṛṣākapi here only to return home after finishing his *daily* course through those deserts and peaks and leagues. But as Vṛṣākapi was more probably the speaker there, Indra now fondly dilates on the great distance his favourite 'son' has to traverse everyday, being reminded of it at its (incidental) mention in v. 19 (अयमेमि विचाकशत्).

'नेदीयसः': Sāyaṇa takes as ablative singular but it is better to follow the other interpreters in taking it as adjective to गृहान्. अस्तं usually means in the Ṛgveda 'house'. But as गृहान् is also mentioned here, I prefer to approximate अस्तम् to the later meaning of 'setting'—नेदीयसो गृहान् उप अस्तम् एहि='set and come down towards thy *nedīyas* home.' X. 86 is a very late hymn of the Ṛgveda and a closer connection with classical usage may be expected here. Sāyaṇa and all European interpreters have rendered नेदीयस् by 'nearer', but I have followed Tilak in giving it the meaning *'nether'* ('lower')—a meaning for which he seems to have made a strong case.[45] The setting of the sun is apparently his going down and when he sets, he goes to the other part of the earth. The gods were probably conceived as dwelling

43. The 'eight peaks' may be eight imaginary hills in the eight directions, whence the later meaning of ककुभ् as दिश्

44. Kommentar, p. 187.

45. Orion, ch. VII note on R. V. X 86. 20.

there. To support this assumption of mine I may refer to I. 35 again—but this time to verses 6 and 7 of the hymn: तिस्रो द्यावः सवितुर्द्वा उपस्थाँ एका यमस्य भुवने विराषाट् । आणिं न रथ्यममृताधि तस्थुरिह ब्रवीतु य उ तच्चिकेतत् ॥ वि सुपर्णो अन्तरिक्षाण्यख्यद् गभीरवेपा असुरः सुनीथः । क्वे३दानीं सूर्यः कश्चिकेत कतमां द्यां रश्मिरस्या ततान ॥ The former verse contains a riddle, which is repeated in the latter. By reading the two verses together carefully the solutiou of the riddle is easily obtained. Verse 6 declares that there are three heavens (=regions); of them, two are the laps of Savitṛ and are therefore fully illumined by him. The one that is in the region of Yama must needs be the third heaven. What is that ? Verse 7 indicates the answer. We have in lir.es a and b of this verse reference to the sun's *having traversed* the firmament above use; इदानीम् therefore means 'after that', i.e. 'after the sun has set'. The poet wants to be told where the sun shines after he disappears from human sight. Most clearly the sun goes down after he sets. The poet most probably believes that the sun's great lamp is not extinguished but shines below this earth.[46]

The first two regions are therefore the earth and the heaven above (between which the sun moves) and the third is the world below this earth. That is clearly the region of Yama. If it is the region of Yama, it is also the abode of the gods for देवैः सं पिबते यमः (X. 135.1) 'Yama

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46. Differently, of course, Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, III 44 : "स वा एष न कदाचनास्तमेति नोदेति तं यदस्तमेतीति मन्यन्तेऽह्न एव तदन्तमित्वाऽथात्मानं विपर्यस्यते रात्रीमेवावस्तात्कुरुतेऽहः परस्तान् । अथ यदेनं प्रातरुदेतीति मन्यन्ते रात्रेरेव तदन्तमित्वाऽथात्मानं विपर्यस्यतेऽहरेवावस्तात्कुरुते रात्रिं परस्तात् । स वा एष न कदाचन निम्रोचतीति ॥ We have here neither an old idea nor a contemporary one but only a dogmatic *innovation* in the usual Brāhmaṇa style.

drinks with the gods'. I may mention here the Greek conception of Hades living below the earth and the departed heroes dwelling in bliss in his company. But I am not at all certain that Tilak[47] is justified in localising the third 'foot' of Viṣṇu too below our world. That the sun illumines Yama's region may be an idea peculiar to the poet of R.V.I. 35 alone, for otherwise he would not have thrown out the riddle.[48] As when the sun sets here he goes to dwell in the company of gods, Indra invites Vṛṣākapi to his presence saying: "The deserts and the steep descents and how many are the leagues thou hast to pass! Through them come down, Vṛṣākapi, to thine home in lower realms". गृह when masculine is used in the plural though the sense may require the singular number. नेदींयसो गृहान् therefore=नेदींयो गृहम्. This nether home is also the abode of Indra (and Indrāṇī). He therefore calls back Vṛṣākapi to the common home after his day's toil through all the upper space. He must have been highly satisfied at Vṛṣākapi's not allowing himself to be caught in the trap set by Indrāṇī (in v.18).[49]

Note:—All this on the supposition that Indra is the speaker of the verse. But it may be as well put in Indrāṇī's mouth. The only alteration that this would entail is that Indrāṇī with a good grace becoming (?) of a 'hero's wife' speaks here kind words of welcome to the person

47. Arctic Home in the Vedas, p. 331.

48. I must not also be assumed to accept Tilak's contention (Arctic Home, Ch. X p. 308 ff.) that the Ṛgvedic Aryans knew the earth to be a globe.

49. This is of course on the assumption, to my mind the more justifiable, that Vṛṣākapi is the speaker in v. 19 and not Indra.

she failed to injure. No recalling from banishment need be thrust here even according to this new interpretation.

Verse: 21:—Geldner in the 'Vedische Studien' ascribed this verse to Indra but in the 'Ṛgveda in Auswahl', he supposes that either Indra or Indrāṇī may be the speaker. Oldenberg follows the latter view but with some uncertainty. Griffith, Ṣaḍguruśiṣya and Sāyaṇa make Indra the speaker. Durgācārya (on Nir. XII. 28) makes the impossible assumption that it comes from Vṛṣākapi's lips (वृषाकपेरार्षम्). Ludwig supposes Vṛṣākapāyī to be the speaker but what is the necessity for dragging her in here? The verse is certainly in continuation of what has just gone before. If Indra was the speaker there, we may naturally understand him to be the speaker here too; and if Indrāṇī was the speaker, it is she who is speaking now. कल्पयावहै is in the dual number: therefore two persons must be understood as its subject. They may be Indra and Vṛṣākapi—"सुविता कल्पयावहै" meaning, 'we two shall arrange enjoyments for ourselves'; or Indra and Indrāṇī (or Indrāṇī and Indra), the second person, though not actually speaking being mentally associated—"सुविता कल्पयावहै" now meaning 'we two shall arrange enjoyments for thee'. Indra and Indrāṇī may also be directly conceived as the speakers of this verse. I would, however, personally prefer to take Indrāṇī to be sole speaker in verses 20, 21 and 22. The dual number in the verb of 21 b will be justified by the mental association of Indra. A better view, however, may be that Indrāṇī associates with herself not Indra but Vṛṣākapi's wife Vṛṣākapāyī, if, of course, such a person is referred to in v. 13. In any view, we have here Indrāṇī thoroughly reconciled to Vṛṣākapi. पुनरेहि gives a mere repetition of अस्तमेहि in the previous verse. सुविता (=सुवितानि) is the opposite of दुरितानि. As it is in the plural I have

rendered it into English by 'blessed enjoyments' instead of by 'welfare' that would have suited सुवितम् in the singular. य एषः refer to त्वम् understood in the first hemistich. स्वप्ननंशनः Yāska renders by 'destroyer of sleep'. He writes "स्वप्नान् नाशयत्यादित्य उदयेन". But I have already pointed out that नंशन may have been as well formed from *naś* 'to attain'; 'bringer of sleep' would then be the meaning of the compound. The derivation and the meaning proposed by Yāska and followed by Sāyaṇa (and Geldner) may also suit the context. The construction will be a little different in the two cases. अस्तमेहि in v. 20 and पुनरेहि in 21a could be easily taken, by themselves, to mean 'come back to us, Vṛṣākapi, who hast fled away for fear of Indrāṇī' as some of may predecessors have done. But "य एषः...अस्तमेषि...पुनः" makes this meaning, impcssible: 'come again, thou, who comest home again' gives absolutely no sense, if we suppose that Vṛṣākapi has fled away for only once. But if we suppose that Vṛṣākapi is being requested to return home as he does every day, no difficulty arises at all. I, therefore take 'अस्तमेषि पथा पुनः' to mean 'who comest home again and again by thine olden path'. The beaten track of the sun is frequently referred to; *cf.* ये ते पन्थाः सवितः पूर्व्यासोऽरेणवः सुकृता अन्तरिक्षे । तेभिर्नो अद्य पथिभिः सुगेभी रक्षा च नो अधि च ब्रूहि, देव ॥ R. V. I. 35. 11. If नंशन is form √ नश् 'to disappear', the meaning for the second hemistich would be "Thou, killer of sleep (i.e. rouser of men from sleep), who comest home again and again (everyday) (after finishing thy day's journey through the upper spaces)". If it is from √ नश् 'to reach', we would have, "Thou, who, bringing in sleep (i. e. laying down creatures to rest—cf. 'निवेशयन्नमृतं मर्त्यं च' I. 35. 2b) comest home again and again (everyday)." I consider both these interpretations possible but the second more natural.

Verse 22—Ṣaḍguruśiṣya and Sāyaṇa make Indra the speaker of this verse. But as we have इन्द्र in the vocative in the second line he cannot be the speaker here. Geldner supposes that the writer (ऋषि: 'Seer') of the hymn is the speaker. This is quite possible but is not altogether certain. Another plausible view is that of Durgācārya, followed by Griffith and with some uncertainty by Oldenberg, *viz.*, that it comes from Indrāṇī. Sāyaṇa has given this as an alternative explanation. Durgācārya and Sāyaṇa, however, make वृषाकपे and इन्द्र refer to the same person (Vṛṣākapi). But how is that possible ? 'अजंगन्तन' is paraphrased by Yāska (?) in Nir XIII. 3 as अजगमत. But the termination is certainly that of the active (परस्मैपद) plural (in the second person and plu-perfect tense). We cannot therefore refer it to one person. We have the plural number in Sanskrit when we have more than two persons. But in the present case only two persons have been addressed in the vocative, Vṛṣākapi and Indra. We should therefore take अजंगन्तन to be an irregular[50] plural for the dual. Geldner's statement[51] that the plural is used because there are four persons is open to the objection that Indrāṇī and Vṛṣākapāyī have not been addressed here, along with Indra and Vṛṣākapi. The objection is, however, not a serious one; for if Indrāṇī can mentally associate Vṛṣākapāyī with herself in v. 21, the seer of the hymn (who is the speaker of v. 22, according to Geldner) can certainly associate in mind Indrāṇī with Indra and Vṛṣākapāyī with Vṛṣākapi. "उदंचः" Durgācārya explains as in the singular number but Sāyaṇa more sensibly takes it to be

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50. For a somewhat similar irregularity, c. f. हृदयानि नौ in R. V. X. 85. 47b.

51. Kommentar, p. 187.

in the plural. Here too we must either understand the dual number or make the word adjective to Indra, Vṛṣākapi and their respective wives.

In the previous verse Vṛṣākapi has been welcomed back by Indrāṇī (or Indra) to their common home. 'उदंञ्चः'[52] should therefore mean 'who *were* in the upper heavens' After Vṛṣākapi and Indra reach their home, which is below the earth[53], the earth becomes enveloped in darkness. Hence the poet[54] asks what then becomes of that 'dread beast' who was so long roaming about the firmament. I would again refer to I. 35 (verse 7: विसुंपुर्णो अन्तरिंक्षाण्यख्यद् गभीरवेंपा असुंरः सुनीथः। क्वे३ दानीं सूर्यः कश्चिंकेत कतमां द्यां रश्मिरस्या तंतान ॥). For "पुल्वघो मृगः". I have already cited the parallel I. 154.2b "मृगो न भीमः कुंचरः" (said, it should be rememebe-red, about Viṣṇu=Sun). This verse very conclusively establishes that Vṛṣākapi is the Sun. Durgācārya's words on the verse deserve quotation here: "...'वृषाकपे इन्द्र' यदा त्वम् 'यदञ्चः' उदङ्ङेव वर्तमानः प्रदक्षिणं भुवनानि परिगच्छन् 'गृहम्' 'अजगन्तन गृहानुप्रवेशे हि व्यवधीयते, व्यवधीयते च भगवानस्तं गच्छन्नादित्यः, इत्येतस्मात् सामान्यादुच्यते 'गृहमिन्द्राजगन्तन' इति। तदा त्वयि गृहमुपगते अदृश्ये निरालोको लोकः[55] सहसैव विस्मिता ब्रवीति 'क स्यः पुल्वघो मृगः'...(on Nir. XIII. 3). I have no alteration to suggest excepting the substitution of the dual or plural number for the singular in त्वम् etc. The meaning of पुल्वघः' has been already discussed. 'जनयोपंनः' Durga renders by जनमोहनः and Sāyaṇa by जनानां मोद-(ह ?)-यिता. 'To delude' is also the meaning of the root युप् according to Pāṇini. Grassmann renders 'जनयोपंनः' by 'tormentor of people',

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52. This probably militates against Geldner's view for certainly Indrāṇī and Vṛṣākapāyī had not gone out of the 'house'.

53. See above on pp. 130-132.

54. Accepting of course Geldner's view that both 22 and 23 are spoken by the author.

55. This should make the author speaker here.

Ludwig by (obstructor of people', Griffith by 'who troubles people', but Geldner following Durgācārya by 'misleader of people'. I cannot suggest any rendering with certainty but I tentatively propose 'charmer of people'.

Verse 23:—This verse has been ascribed by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya and Sāyaṇa to Vṛṣākapi and by Ludgwig to Vṛṣākapāyī. Griffith makes Indrāṇī the speaker. Oldenberg suggests with some doubt that either Indra or Vṛṣākapi spoke this verse. But I have little hesitation in rejecting all these views and taking the author of the hymn to be the speaker here. I do not however stand alone but I have the support of Professor Geldner.[56] The verse has all the appearance of an author's personal remarks at the conclusion of a poem and I therefore understand it to contain the writer's own words about her[57] own self. The third person constitutes no difficulty for Ṛgvedic poets have referred to themselves as often in the third person as in the first; *cf.* I. 85. 11, VII. 33. 6 & c., I differ here from Professor Geldner only in the view[58] that the author speaks about Vṛṣākapāyī. We often find authors of Ṛgvedic hymns giving their names in concluding verses; of. III. 62. 18. The name of our author seems to be *Parśu Mānavī*: it is then a lady who has been pleading so cleverly for the worship of Vṛṣākapi the sun. 'Mānavī' can mean 'Manu's daughter' but the more likely meaning would be here, as usually, 'the woman' or 'the human wife'.[59] Geldner[60] refers to Taittirīya Brāhmṇa III. 2.2.2 for 'Párśu

56. Vedisch Studien, II. 38.

57. That the author is a lady will be shown now.

58. Vedische Studien, II. 42.

59. Grassmann (Uebersetzung II, 486) renders "Das menschliche Weib, Parçu mit Namen."

60. Vedische Studien, II, 42, Kommentar, 187.

Mānví' but the reference is without any point. The passage is a *Brāhamaṇa* on the *Mantras* (in Taittirīya Samhitā I. 1. 2) in connection with aśvaparśudhāraṇa. For "प्रेयमगाद्धिषणा बर्हिरच्छ मनुना कृता स्वधया वितष्टा" in the *Mantra* we have the *Brāhmaṇa* "प्रेयमगाद्धिषणा बर्हिरच्छेत्याह । विद्या वै धिषणा विद्ययैवैनदच्छैति । मनुना कृता स्वधया वितष्टेत्याह । मानवी हि पर्शुः स्वधाकृता ॥" Here 'मानवी हि पर्शुः' is an attempt at explaining मनुना कृता in the Mantra. It should be noted that the word 'पर्शुः', does not occur in the formula. It is धिषणा (*vedi* ?), which has been called मनुना कृता in the Mantra; but पर्शुः has been dragged in by the Brāhmaṇa. The only thing that the Brāhamṇa passage proves is that its author was acquainted with our hymn and tried to interpret the Mantra with words taken from the Ṛgveda. It is unncessary to labour the point further, for Professor Geldner has not himself paid any serious heed to the Taittirīya passage in the rendering of R. V. 86. 23a.[61]

In *Pārśū 'Mānavī'*, 'Mānavī' can hardly be the personal name. 'Párśu' alone can be the name of the writer. But *gotra* names are so often used in Vedic literature instead of personal names, that we cannot be sure that we have not a *gotra* or a clan name here. If it is in *gotra* or a clan name, the connection with Persia naturally suggests itself to one's mind. Ludwig[62] and Weber[63] believe that the word 'Pārśu has been used in the Ṛgveda in the sense of Persians. Zimmer[64] has rejected the view but there is neither any inherent improbability in it nor any cogent ground against it. Professors Macdonell and Keith, who seem to follow

61. Cf. Vedische studien, II, 28, Glossar, 107,135.

62. Mantralitteratur (Der Rigveda, übersetzt, III) § 45.

63. See Macdonell and keith's Vedic Index, I. 504.

64. Altindisches Leben, pp. 135—138.

Zimmer, had to say at least, "At most the only conclusion to be drawn is that the Indians and Iranians were early connected, as was of course the case."[65] It is certain that Ludwig's interpretation of X. 33.2 सं मा तपन्त्यभितः सपत्नीरिव पर्शवः । नि बाधते अमतिर्नग्नता जसुर्वेर्न वेवीयते मतिः ॥' is impossible: पर्शवः here must mean 'ribs', 'sides'. In VII. 83.1 'युवां नरा पश्यमानास् आप्यं प्राचा गव्यन्तः पृथुपर्शवो ययुः । दासा च वृत्रा हतमार्याणि च सुदासमिन्द्रावरुणावसावतम् ॥" too Parthians and Persians are not referred to. Still, there is at least one passage in the Ṛgveda, viz., VIII. 6.46, where '*Pārśu*' does not mean 'rib' but is a name. In X. 86. 23 too 'Pārśu is certainly a name. But a *woman* cannot bear the same name as can be given to *man*. We have therefore a family name or a clan name here and not a personal name. Zimmer[66] says "Pārśu as a proper name is not at all so rare in Sanskrit that at its occurrence the distant Iranian race must be suggested at once." It is true that Pāṇini[67] mentions the Pārśus but they are a tribe of mercenary or fighting people.[68] The Perses are found called Parśus Pa-ar-sus in the Babylonian inscriptions[69] and they were certainly a warlike people who taught their sons "to ride, to draw the bow and to speak the truth."[70] Cannot Pāṇini's Parśus be connected with these people ? Soma of the other names in the Ganapāṭha under the *Parsvādi* class seem to be of foreign tribes and

65. Vedic Index, I, 505.

66. Altindisches Leben, 137.

67. V. 3. 117 "पर्श्वादियौधेयादिभ्योऽणञौ"

68. Compare Pāṇini v. 3. 114 "आयुधजीविसङ्घाञ्ञ्यड्वाहीकेष्वब्राह्मणराजन्यात्"

69. See the Babylonian text (in Weissbach) of Darius Bisutun, Do. Persepolis and Naksh-i-Rustum.

70. Herodotus I. 136.

the Parśus may have been people of Iran or living on the outskirts of India proper in Pāṇini's time but there is nothing to show the Parśu individuals mentioned in the Ṛgveda are foreigners. On the contrary, R. V. VIII. 6.46 proves that the Parśu people were originally identical with or formed a section of the Yādvas=the Yādvas who were one of the five tribes of the Vedic Aryans.

This hymn is addressed to Indra and concludes with a *tṛca* containing, according to the Anukramaṇī, dānastuti of Tirindira Pāraśavya. The three verses are: शतमहं तिरिन्दिरे सहस्रं पर्शावा ददे। राधांसि याद्वानाम् ॥४६॥ त्रीणि शतान्यर्वतां सहस्रा दश गोनाम्। ददुष्पज्राय साम्ने ॥४७॥ उदानट् ककुहो दिवमुष्ट्रांश्चतुर्युजो ददत्। श्रवसा याद्वं जनम् ॥८।६।४८॥ Griffith translates 46 as "A hundred thousand have I gained from Parśu, from Tirindira. And presents of the Yādvās." He makes 'Tirindira' and 'Párśu' refer to the same person. But this treatment of शतम् and सहस्रं is impossible. The separation of सहस्रम् from शतम् by अहं and तिरिन्दिरे and the balancing of 'शतं तिरिन्दिरे' by 'सहस्रं पर्शौ' show that शतम् and सहस्रम् are two distinct objects of आददे and शतम् is not the adjective of सहस्रम्. We should therefore translate with Grassmann, "Presents of the Yadus I have received, a hundred from Tirindira, a thousand from Parśu." This might suggest that Tirindira and Párśu must be two different individuals and Professors Macdonell and Keith[71] have taken this view. But this is not at all necessary. In the following verse some people ('the same Yādvas ?') are praised for a gift to Pajra Sāman of three hundred horses and ten thousand cows, both horses and cows (though different in number) come from the same source. We may similarly interpret the previous verse as meaning that one donor gave to our poet (Vatsa

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71. Vedic Index I., 310.

Kāṇva) as hundred heads of one species (horses) and a thousand of another (cows). Tirindira and Parśu may be thus identified. The separate mention of the two names need only suggest that Tirindira is the personal name and Parśu the family or clan name. It may not be necessary therefore to reject with Macdonell and Keith[72] the statement of the Śāṅkhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVI. 11.20) and of the (on R. V. VIII. 6, Macdonell's edition, p. 28) that Tirindira was Pārśavya (descendant of Parśu'). Whether we may make Tirindira a Parśu or not याद्वानाम् must be connected (in sense) with both तिरिन्दिरे and पर्शौ. We have therefore a Parśu or the Parśus as Yādava. Sāyaṇa, to be sure, proposes as an alternative interpretation that Parśu Tirindira snatched away the wealth of the Yādavas and gave of it to our poet but probability goes against him. There is no nominative in verse 47; to suit the plural verb ददुः, we must bring in the nearest substantive in plural and that is certainly याद्वानाम् at the end of the previous verse—it is probably the munificence of the Yadus which is being extolled in verse 47. Tirindira Parśu (or say Tirindira and Parśu) eulogised in v. 46 cannot therefore be the enemy (or enemies) of the self-same Yadus. These Yādavas formed an ancient Indo-Aryan tribe, mentioned throughout the Ṛgveda. This should make the Parśus—Perses a section of the Indian community. Professors Macdonell and Keith have admitted[73], "Yadu princes must be meant by Tirindira and Parśu." If one Parśu is a Yādava, why cannot another (say, the author of R. V. X. 86) belong to the same race ? I do not see why we should not derive the Perses of Iran from the Yādavas of India.

72. Vedic Index II. 310 and 504.

73. Vedic Index I. 310-311.

The concluding verse of the hymn extols the gift of one individual, because आनट्, ककुहः ददंत् are in the singular number. 'ककुह' means a pre-eminent or excellent animal[74] in R.V. I. 46.3., I. 81. 5, I. 184. 3, IV. 44.2, V. 72. 7 and V. 75.4 and the term has been applied to the Maruts in II. 34.11, to Viṣṇu in III. 54.14, to Indra in VIII. 45.14 and to the soma juice in IX. 67.8. The word should therefore mean here 'the great one'. Grassmann in his Dictionary (309) puts down the word ककुहः in VIII. 6.48 as meaning 'a prominent animal of the yoke' ('hervorragendes Zugthier') but in his translation (I, 558) he corrected himself to 'great one' (Der-grosse). That great one, eulogised as having mounted up to heaven by the very giving of *uṣṭras*[75] yoked in four (to our poet ?) should be, according to the context, the same person whose munificence our poet has set out to immortalise. That person is certainly mentioned in the first verse (no. 46) of the *tṛca*. We should therefore read in that verse reference to only one individual.[76] Parśu is thus a family or clan name of Tirindira. A verb has to be supplied in line c of verse 48 and that should be उदानट् in line a. Verse 48 should be translated thus: "The great one has mounted up to heaven by the giving of camels yoked in four and has attained in fame the (entire) Yadu host.[77]" The last portion may be easily taken to mean 'has distinguished himself most among the Yadus', a sense which

74. Or a prominent or humped animal, say a camel or a humped bull.

75. Camels; the usual European rendering is 'buffaloes'. See Vedic Index I, p. 104.

76. Because ककुहः is in the singular.

77. I have little hesitation in setting aside Grassmann's emendation (übersetzung, p. 558) of जनंम् into पशुम्.

very well accords with the context. Here too there is no indication of rivalry or enmity between the patron of the poet and the Yādavas. The greatest objection against taking the Yādavas mentioned in VIII. 6.46 and 48 as inimical to Vatsa Kāṇva's patron Tirindira Parśu (or Tirindira and Parśu) is the fact that the Kāṇvas are the *friends of the Yadus*; *c. f.* R.V. I. 36. 18, VIII. 4.7, VIII. 7.18, VIII. 9.14, VIII. 10.5, VIII. 45.26. Sāyaṇa's alternative explanation of verse 46 may therefore be safely set aside. I do not want to deny that some slight distinction is made between Tirindira Parśu and the Yādavas but that is easily explained by taking the prince to belong to a distinct clan of the Yadu race.

R.V. VIII. 6.46-48 is not the only passage which suggests the Parśus=the Perses to be a section of the Yādavas. The word *'yādva'* occurs four times in the Ṛgveda, in VIII. 6.46 and VIII. 6.48, quoted above, in VII 19.8 (by the side of "Turvāśam) and in VIII. 1.31. Hymn VIII. 1 contains in verses 1–29 praise of Indra and in the following, 4 verses a *dānastuti*. The four verses are स्तुहि स्तुही देते घा ते मंहिष्ठासो मघोनाम् । निन्दिताश्वः प्रपथी परमज्या मघस्य मेध्यातिथे ॥३०॥ आ यदश्वान् वनन्वतः श्रद्धयाहं रथे रुहम् । उत वामस्य वसुनश्चिकेतति यो अस्ति याद्वः पशुः ॥३१॥ य ऋज्रा मह्यं मामहे सह त्वचा हिरण्यया । एष विश्वान्यभ्यस्तु सौभगासङ्गस्य स्वनद्रथः ॥३२॥ अध प्लायोगिरति दासदन्यनासङ्गो अग्ने दशभिः सहस्रैः । अधोक्षणो दश मह्यं रुशन्तो नला इव सरसो निरतिष्ठन् ॥३३॥ Verses 30 and 31 are to be taken together, otherwise, यत् in 31 *a* cannot be properly construed and the sense of 31 remains incomplete and उत ('and') in line *c* becomes meaningless. Besides the liberal patrons enumerated in verse 30 we have undoubtedly another such name in 31 *c.d.* That patron is यो अस्ति याद्वः पशुः who is Yādava paśu 'पशुः' Sāyaṇa renders as पशुमान् 'rich in cattle'. But no grammatic justification can be found for

this explanation. Neither is it intelligible how a person who is a descendant of the Yadu race and who knows about priceless treasures and seems to be a liberal donor too can be called a पशु, 'a beast.' Mr. Griffith who rendered the second hemistich of the verse by "For skilled as Yadus son in dealing precious wealth, he who is rich in herds of kine", felt the difficulty. We therefore read in his notes, "paśuḥ which appears to be in apposition with yādvaḥ is hardly intelligible here. Sāyaṇa explains it as paśumān, having beasts or cattle or as a derivative of paś, to see, and meaning one who sees that is subtile, *sūkshmasya draṣṭā*. Neither of these explanations has anything but Sāyaṇa's name to recommend it, but I adopt the former as a make-shift". I need hardly comment on Sāyaṇa's alternative explanations. Grassmann renders यो अस्ति याद्वः पशुः by 'every man of the Yadu race' but he feels constrained to put a query mark after 'jeder Mann.' This shows that he too cannot tackle the passage. Geldner (Kommentar 121–2) writes "*c īdṛsam dhanam ciketati* I *eṣa āsaṅgo dātum jānāti*" S. But[78] the subject is more likely paśūḥ in d, that cattle which the Purohita has received from the Yadu king in addition to horse and carriage. Oldenberg in his Ṛgveda, text kritische and exegetische Noten (Vol. II, p. 74) refers to this interpretation of Geldner but makes the pertinent remark "It seems to me that the verb governs in typical manner a noun in the genitive (c. f. on both V. 73.6; VI. 59.5) and has for its subject the praton." Oldenberg himself leans to Ludwig's rendering which is "while I through faith of the desired (Indra's ?) horse yoked it to the car, then he thinks also

78. The 'aber' seems unsjustifiable. Sāyaṇa identifies the *yādva paśu* with Āsaṅga and it is पशुः that he takes as the grammatical subject to चिकेतति ।

of the beautiful treasure, which is the cattle of the Yādva[79]". Against the rendering of the second half I may say that in the two other (VII. 19.8 and VIII. 6.46) passages where the word याद्व has been used we have it in connection with person and not animals and it is doubtful if there is any other certain use of a similar adjective for an animal. I therefore feel inclined to take पशु here as the name of a person. The nearest equivalent that I can think of is पर्शुः. There is difference in accent, to be sure, in addition to the want of a *repha* but the word 'paśu' meaning cattle is at least known to have been accented in two ways either on the first syllable or on the second. May we not therefore take the पशुः[80] in VIII. 1.31 to be a variant for पर्शुः which was as I have shown above, a family or a clan name ? If this sggestion can be accepted, the connection between the Parśus (=Perses) and the Yādvas suggested by VIII. 6.46 receives a confirmation.

I, therefore consider the Persians of Iran to be the Parśus, a section of the Yādavas of India, who migrated from this land in post-Ṛgvedic times. Pāṇini's Parśus may have been, as I have already said, Iranian Persians; but they could also be such descendants of the old Yādava Parśus as might still be in India for the Sātvatas, an undoubted Indian tribe, belonged according to the Gaṇapāṭha as we have it to the पर्श्वादि class (Pā. V. 3. 117).

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79. Ludwig. Der Ṛgveda, II, 171 "Weil ich vermöge des glaubens des verlangenden [Indra's ?] rosse an den wagen brachte, I da denkt er auch an das schöne trefliche, was das vieh des yādava"

80. Can the loss of the repha be accounted for by the shifting of the accent to the following syllable ?

The Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XVIII. 44) makes the Parśus[81] along with the Gāndhāris and the Arāṭṭas, descendants of Urvaśī and Purūravas, settled in the west. These Parśus may well be a section of the Yādavas who in Epic and Puranic times were settled in the west of India. So when Zimmer[82] objects that the Pāraśavas were a people to the south-west of the Madhyadeśa, I cannot believe that the connection of the Iranian Persians with them is made impossible; for we can think that the Parśus (=Perses) were originally Indians (a community of the Yādavas) and migrated to Iran from

81. Caland in his "über des Rituelle sūtra des Baudhāyana" (p. 36) gives the name as *Sparśu* but he puts a query mark after it, In his Bibliotheca Indica edition of the text (p. 397) too he prints the name as *sparśavah*. The Vedic Index (II, 489, article 'Sparśu') but follows Caland's statement in the pamphlets "über das & c.," But this most obviously belongs to the preceding word *Gāndhārayaḥ* and is the *Sandhi* substitute for the *Visarjanīya; Parśavaḥ* must therefore be the spelling of the second name. The passage runs as सा (Urvaśi) आयुं च अमावसुं च जनयां चकार। सा होवाचेमौ बिभृतेमौ सर्वमायुरेष्यत इति। प्राङायुः प्रवव्राज तस्यैते कुरुपञ्चालाः काशिविदेहा इत्येतदायवं प्रव्राजम्। प्रत्यङ् अमावसुः तस्यैते गान्धारयस्पर्शवोऽराट्टा इत्येतदामावासवम्॥ The statement of the Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra does not make the Parśus Yādavas, if me *must* follow the Purāṇic genealogies according to which Yadu was descended from Ayu, whereas according to Baudhāyana the Gāndhāris, the Parśus and the Arāṭṭas are descended from Amāvasu, brother of Ayu. But the testimony of the Purāṇas is by no means unimpeachable. In any case the B.S.S. does make the Parśus (=Persians ?) descended from old Indo-Aryan families.

82. Altindisches leben, 137.

India in later times. As regards Manu's[83] derivation of the Pāraśavas from a fusion of Brahmin males with Śūdra females, referred to by Zimmer, is it necessary to pay any serious attention to the fictions about the origins of the mixed (?) castes indulged in by these cāturvarṇya theorists ?

When I say that the Perisans may have originally migrated from India, I do not for a moment want to suggest that the whole Aryan population of Iran was derived from that soucce. The Medians may have come from the same place from which came the Indo-Aryans themselves. There is, so far as I can understand now, no historical[84] difficulty in deriving the Perses alone from India and in almost historical times. The Perses are not mentioned in Babylonian or Assyrian inscriptions till the 8th century B.C.[85] whereas the Medes receive this mention as early as the 28th century B.C.[86] This may be simply due to the Persians and the Medians having

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83. यं ब्राह्मणस्तु शूद्रायां कामादुत्पादयेत्सुतम् । स पारयन्नेव शवस्तस्मात् पारशवः स्मृतः । IX, 178.

84. I shall not touch here the linguistic side of the question.

85. See F. Homnel, Geographic Geschichte des alten Orients Part I, P. 197, Hall's Ancient History of the Near East and Rogozin's Media, p. 274. But there is a difference of opinion among scholars as to whether Parsua (near the Zagros) mentioned in the annals of Sargon II was inhabited by the Perses; see Edward Meyer in Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th edition), XXI, 253. If Meyer is right, the earliest inscriptional mention of the Persians would be in the time of Cyrus (6th century B.C.).

86. E. Forrer, in Z. D. M. G., New Series, Vol. I, p. 247, p. Giles has followed him in Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. II (p. 15) recently published.

entered Iran from different places and in different ages. Further discussion of the question in the light of ascertained facts will be out of place here and I must reserve that for later treatment.[87]

After this long (but necessary) digression, let us see what the Parśu lady has got to say about herself in X. 86. 23. She says that she has produced twenty children at one birth and that though her burden had caused her pain, it is good that has come out of it. What can this mean? Giving birth to twenty children all at once is humanly impossible, for two is the maximum number a human mother can bring forth at one time. We must therefore search for some mystic meaning here. This we are fully entitled to do for there is plenty of mysticism in the extant Vedic text of this period. I may only mention here R.V. I 164. Now, what has gone before has made it abundantly clear that the writer of the hymn is a champion of the worship of Vṛṣākapi. She may therefore be conceived as occupying the same position in this worship as that of Indrāṇī in the case of Indra's worship: she may have looked upon herself as the human spouse of Vṛṣākapi (the Sun). *Vṛṣan* often means in the Ṛgveda, as I have pointed out above, 'potent' 'saturating', 'impregnating'.[88] *Vṛṣākapi* is formed from this word. Our potent Vṛṣākapi would certainly make his earthly

87. I may, however, mention her that it is possible that when after the demise of Kṛṣṇa there was a disperson of the surviving Yādavas, some of the Yādavas tribes migrated outside India. The parśus may have now found their way to Iran. Compare Viṣṇupurāṇa V ch. 38, VV. 5-34, particularly vv. 12-28 where it is described how Kṛṣṇa's seraglio was attacked and carried away by Abhīras in the Panjab.

88. Compare II, 35.13 स ईं वृषाजनयत्तासु गर्भम् etc.

spouse fruitful, so much so that 20 children could issue at one birth. We can now guess what animal this god has been conceived as. It is the sow which can give birth to such a large number of children in one conception. If Parśu Mānavī conceives herself as a sow, her Divine Lord would be the Boar. This certainly suits our hymn. The dog or the hunter that Indrāṇī threatened to let loose at Vṛṣākapi in V. 4 above has been caller वराहयु 'hunter of the boar'; therefore its (or his) victim would be a boar. A boar can certainly be called a dread (or voracious) animal (v. 22c). *Kapi*='tawny coloured' constitutes no difficulty, for a tawny-coloured boar is not an impossibility.[89] Gods have been likened to boars in the Ṛgveda. In IX 97.7 Soma has been called a Varāha. in X. 67.7 "स ईं सत्येभिः सखिभिः शुचद्भिर्गोधायसं वि धनसैरदर्दः । ब्रह्मणस्पतिर्वृषभिर्वराहैर्घर्मस्वेदेभिर्द्रविणं व्यानट्", the Maruts have been called 'strong (or potent) boars'. The combination of वृषभिः with वराहैः should be particularly noted. In I. 1145 'दिवो वराहमरुषं कपर्दिनम् & c.,' said about Rudra, the character of a *Varāha* and the ruddy colour have been combined in one individual. The name वराह has been given to the Maruts in I. 88.5 and to Vṛtra in I. 121.11. It is possible that the Sun has been meant by वराहम् in X. 28.4. I can therefore feel little hestitation in understanding Vṛṣākapi to be poetically conceived not as ape but as boar. The Vedic Sun god Viṣṇu has been described in the later Purāṇas as having taken the incarnation of a boar. For the Vedic source of this legend, I may simply refer my readers to Macdonell's Vedic Mythology, pp. 41 and 151.

If the Parśu lady looks upon herself as the spouse

89. I knew of such an animal possessed by our College *Mahtar* at Rangpur.

of the Divine Boar, we have a case of clear *erotic mysticism.* I now draw the attention of my readers to two facts that we have discovered (1) the solar character of the object of this erotic worship and (2) the Yādava nationality of the Parśus (and therefore of our poetess who lent herself to this sort of worship). We know that Kṛṣṇa, the Yādava hero, was in later times identified with the old Sun-god Viṣṇu and that an erotic cult grew up around his figure. On the former point we have sufficient light already and Dr. Hemchandra Roy Chaudhuri has brought together in his Early History of the Vaiṣnava Sect (Lecture I) all the available evidence on the point. But now or whence the erotic mysticism came in was as yet obscure. The Vṛṣākapi hymn, as we have now understood it, may throw much light on the problem. We have in this hymn a clear intsance of the erotic worship of the Sun. It is with this Sun (Viṣṇu) that Kṛṣṇa was identified and the erotic cult may well have come from the same source from which came Kṛṣṇa's connection with the 'cows' (*go* 'rays of the sun' or waters ?) and the other solar phenomena of the human god.

Now one may legitimately object that such far-reaching conclusions should not be drawn from a single passage. But I reply that I have proceeded on parallels and I recount them here. As regards the clash between two cults or the pleading for a particular god, I may refer to R.V.I. 165 and IV. 42, two early hymns, and I. 170, a hymn of about the same age as X. 86[90]. R.V. IV. 42 describes a contest between Varuṇa and Indra as to who is superior. The author prudently decides in favour of both (vv.9 and 10) but there are sufficient indications of a

90. See Arnold's Vedic Metre pp. 273, 276 and 287.

personal leaning towards Indra (cf. v. 8)[91] In. I. 165 we have a quarrel between Indra and the Maruts who are his allies in the fight with Vṛtra. The hymn "appears to be, as Wilson observes, a vindication of the separate, or at least preferential worship of Indra, without comprehending at the same time as a matter of course, the adoration of the Maruts"[92]. Indra and the Maruts have contended for the superior position but latter had finally to yield to the former. I. 170, which is ascribed to the same Agastya but is probably by a later hand (a descendant of Agastya ?) shows Agastya pleading to Indra for allowing him to worship (with impunity) Indra's friendly host, the Maruts. In R.V. X. 124 too we have probably a preference shown to Indra over Varuṇa. In the light of these passages we may safely read in X. 86 an apology for the preferential worship of the Sun-god but to the exclusion this time of the national god Indra. We know that Indra lost his glory in later times and his place was occupied by Viṣṇu and the other Purāṇic gods. R.V.X. 86 shows a transition to this. Indra is still the national god here and that necessitated the diplomatic language of Vṛṣākapi's apologist. The Sun was worshipped by the Aryans in various forms even in the earliest times but its prominence was a late phenomenon the transition can be easily marked but this would not be a proper place for such an attempt. We have in X. 86 the Sun worship not only given a prominence but possessing an exclusive character too. Of course the conditons of the time required that the new cult should be sanctioned by Indra.

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91. This would remind us of Bloomfield's plausible view about the position of Varuṇa in the Ṛgvedic age.

92. Griffith, Hymns of the Ṛgveda, 2nd Edn. I. 228n.

For the erotic mysticism my chief parallel would be VIII. 80 (Max Muller's VIII. 91). As this hymn is very important from my point of view. I shall quote it in full and then discuss the pertinent portions. The hymn runs as :—

कन्या३ वारवायती सोममपि सुताविदत् ।
अस्तं भरन्त्यब्रवीदिन्द्राय सुनवै त्वा शक्राय सुनवै त्वा ॥१॥
असौ य एषि वीरको गृहंगृहं विचाकशत् ।
इमं जम्भसुतं पिब धानावन्तं करम्भिणमपूपवन्तमुक्थिनम् ॥२॥
आ चन त्वा चिकित्सामोऽधि चन त्वा नेमसि ।
शनैरिव शनकैरिवेन्द्रायेन्द्रो परिस्रव ॥३॥
कुविच्छकत्कुवित्करत्कुविन्नो वस्यसस्करत् ।
कुवित्पतिद्विषो यतीरिन्द्रेण संगमामहै ॥४॥
इमानि त्रीणि विष्टपा तानीन्द्र विरोहय ।
शिरस्ततस्योर्वरामादिदं म उपोदरे ॥५॥
असौ च या न उर्वरादिमां तन्वं१ मम ।
अथो ततस्य यच्छिरः सर्वा ता रोमशा कृधि ॥६॥
खे रथस्य खेऽनसः खे युगस्य शतक्रतो ।
अपालामिन्द्र त्रिष्पूत्व्यकृणोः सूर्यत्वचम् ॥७॥

The following legend has been told by Sāyaṇa in connection of this hymn :—पुरा किल अत्रिसुता अपाला ब्रह्मवादिनी केनचित्कारणेन त्वग्दोषदुष्टा सती अतएव दुर्भगेति भर्त्रा परित्यक्ता पितुराश्रमे त्वग्दोषपरिहाराय चिरकालमिन्द्रमधिकृत्य तपस्तेपे। सा कदाचिद् इन्द्रस्य सोमः प्रियकरो भवति तम् इन्द्राय दास्यामीति बुद्ध्या नदीतीरं प्रत्यागमत्। सा तत्र स्नात्वा पथि सोममप्यलभत तमादाय गृहं प्रत्यागच्छन्ती मार्ग एव तं चरवाद। तद्भक्षणकाले दन्तघर्षणजातं शब्दं ग्राव्णां सोमाभिषवध्वनिमिति मत्वा तदानीमेवेन्द्रः समागमत्। आगत्य तामुवाच किमत्र ग्रावाणोऽभिषुण्वन्तीति। सा प्रत्यूचे अत्रिकन्या स्नानार्थमागत्य सोमं दृष्ट्वा तं भक्षयति तद्भक्षणजो ध्वनिरेव न तु ग्राव्णां सोमाभिषवध्वनिरिति। तथा प्रत्युक्त इन्द्रः पराङावर्तत। गच्छन्तमिन्द्रं सा पुनरब्रवीत्। किमर्थं निवर्तसे त्वं तु सोमपानाय गृहं गृहं प्रति गच्छसि तदिदानीमत्रापि मम दंष्ट्राभ्यामभिषुतं सोमं पिब धानादींश्च भक्षयेति। सैवमिन्द्रमनाद्रियमाणा सती पुनरप्याह अत्रागतं त्वामिन्द्रमिति न जानामि त्वयि गृहमागते बहुमानं करिष्यामीतीन्द्रमुक्त्वा अत्र समागत इन्द्र एव नान्य इति निश्चित्य स्वास्ये निहितं सोममाह हे सोम त्वमागतायेन्द्राय पूर्वं शनैः ततः

शनकैः क्षिप्रं परिस्नवेति। तत इन्द्रस्तां कामयित्वा तस्या आस्य एव दंष्ट्राभिषुतं सोममपात् तत इन्द्रेण सोमे पीते सति त्वग्दोषादहं भर्त्रा परित्यक्ता सती इदानीमिन्द्रेण संगता इति अपालायामुक्तायामिन्द्रस्तां व्याजहार। किं कामयसे तदहं करिष्यामीत्युक्ते सा वरमचीकमत। मम पितुः शिरो रोमवर्जितं तस्योषरं क्षेत्रं फलादिरहितं मम गुह्यस्थानमप्यरोमशम् एतानि रोमफलादियुक्तानि कुर्वित्युक्तायां तत्पितृशिरः स्थितां खलतिमपहाय क्षेत्रं च फलादियुक्तं कृत्वा एतस्यास्त्वग्दोषपरिहाराय स्वकीयरथच्छिद्रे शकटस्य युगस्य च छिद्रे एतां त्रिवारं निश्चकर्ष। तस्याः पूर्वाभिहतायाः त्वक् शल्यको द्वितीया गोधा तृतीया कृकलासोऽभूत्। तत इन्द्रस्तामप्यपालां सूर्यसदृशत्वचमकरोदित्यैतिहासिकी कथा॥

Sāyaṇa says that his authority is the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa which he has quoted from in the course of his comments on the different verses. It seems that Sāyaṇa has freely drawn on his imagination in supplementing the statements in that Brāhmaṇa. The Brāhmaṇa story is somewhat shorter. Śaunaka in his Bṛhaddevtā (VI. 99-107 Macdonell's Edition) gives a similar story.

I do not give any translation of the hymn as none is needed. Besides, Sāyaṇa's full note will be found sufficient to remove all difficulties. But his absurdities will require to be pointed out and discussed. Sāyaṇa makes her a married woman but neither the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa nor the Bṛhaddevatā suggests any such thing. We have in the hymn itself explicit statement (in v. 1) that Apālā was a कुन्यां=a virgin. Sāyaṇa's supposition, as Oldenberg rightly points out[93], is due to his misunderstanding of the word पतिद्विषः in v. 4. Sāyaṇa renders it by पत्या द्विष्टाः but the accent is that of a Tatpuruṣa compound and not of a Bahuvrīhi. Therefore 'haters of husbands' should be its real meaning. Apālā is a virgin and lives in her father's house, because where else would

93. Ṛgveda, textkritischa und exegetische Noten II, 142.

a maid live ? Hence her solicitations for hair on her eard father's head and for crops in his field (vv. 5 and 6) and for the general prosperity of the family (V. 4 *a* and *b*) One thing stands out quite clear in the hymn and in its different interpretations, *viz,* the erotic relation between Apālā and Indra. Apālā's love relations with Indra are manifest from 4 *d* (इन्द्रेण सं गमामहै) 5 *d* and 6 b and have been fully brought out by Sāyaṇa, Saunaka, the author of the Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa, Oldenberg and Geldner. The desire expressed in 5 d and b for "crops of hair below my waist", can only mean the attainment of sexual powers and this can have, in the present context, significance only in an erotic[94] relation with Indra; for otherwise 5 d becomes meaningless. There is no reference in the text to any skin disease which Śaunaka and Sāyaṇa[95] have unnecessarily[96] dragged in.

One important point that deserves notice here is the plural in नः वस्यंसः प्रतिद्विषः यतीः and सं गमामहै in v. 4. Sāyaṇa's "सर्वश पूजार्थे बहुवचनम्" is to be set aside without any hesitation. The plural suggests that Apālā does not stand alone in her love relations with Indra but belongs to a class of women who hating the taking of husbands remain virgins and worship Indra as their lover instead. That the love relation with Indra is not earthly but is mystic is made probable by 2 b and 3. Apālā wants the Soma she is pressing with her teeth to flow slowly, very slowly, that she may get ample time to know her lord fully.

94, Or more correctly 'erotic-mystic'; see below.

95. The last two sentences in Sāyaṇa's comments on v. 7 probably come from Sāyaṇa and not from the Śātyāyana Brāhmaṇa.

96. Probably सूर्यत्वचम् in v. 7 Suggested to them that Apāla had skin disease before.

It is then during the pressing and flowing of the Soma in her mouth that she has communion with her divine lover. Something like spiritual ecstasy must be meant by this communion. Persons acquainted with the later[97] mystic literature of India will fully realise the force of my remarks. I may here incidentally draw the attention of my readers to a new German publication "Die Anfänge der Yogaproxis (eine Untersuchung über die Wurzeln der indischen Mystik nach Ṛgveda and Atharvaveda)" by Dr. J.W. Hauer, Privatdozent at Tübingen, who had come out to India to study yogic practices. Dr. Hauer[98] has read in this passage an ecstatic relation between Apālā and Indra through the medium of Soma. My difference with him lies only in my emphasising the erotic character of this mysticism.

Śaunaka (Bṛhaddevatā VI. 107) considers R.V. VIII. 80 to be an *Aindra* hymn and not an *Itihāsa* hymn as Yāska and Bhāguri hold. It does not contain a mere tale about Indra and his human love, but has Indra for its "deity". We may very reasonably infer from this hymn that Indra was worshipped by some females (who remained unwedded) as their divine lover or husband. It is probably thus that the erotic verse (34) at the end of VIII. 1 is to be explained. Indra has been behymned in vv. 1-29 and the अस्य in v. 34 *a* may refer to him. That शश्वंती is not a proper name but means 'every' is certain. May the two verses at the end of I. 126 be similarly interpreted ? One would be naturally reminded of the Purāṇic story of Indra's amour with Ahalyā.

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97. This hymn too is a very late one. See Arnold, Vedic Metre, p. 283.

98. pp. 137,138 of his book.

I may now return to the Vṛṣākapi hymn. The hymn shows as I have indicated above that Sun-worship was supplanting the worship of the old natinal deity Indra, at least in the Parśu=Yādava community. Along with the chief character the other attributes of Indra also may have been usurped by this god and the Yādava ladies may have taken to the worship of the Sun-god as their divine lover. Now, later Vaiṣṇavism (the Vāsudeva cult) rose in this very community. The national hero of the Yādavas, Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra, came to be identified with the old Vedic Sun-god Viṣṇu and worshipped as the Supreme Being. Readers of the Purāṇas will remember that the boy Kṛṣṇa stopped the worship of Śakra (Indra) among the cowherds in whose community he grew up. This may be due to a reminiscence of the Sun-worship (later substituted by the worship of Kṛṣṇa identified with the Sun) ousting the old Vedic Indra-cult in the community of the Yādavas. It appears from the words of Megasthenes that there was some contrast between the worshippers of Herakles and the worshippers of Dionysus in India. I have recently[102] shown that by the cult of Dionysus we are to understand the general Vedic sacrificial cult. As Kṛṣṇa (identified with Viṣṇu) was later installed in the place of Indra, the erotic worship associated with that god may well have come over to him. It is probably thus that we read in some of the Purāṇas stories of Kṛṣṇà's amorous sports with the cowherd girls. This may not be the creation of pure fancy but may be a half-true account of what was perhaps actually in vogue in Kṛṣṇa's communiy prior to his birth and subsequent to it. Space forbids my dilating further on the point and I must reserve a detailed history of how the Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa cult grew up for a future treatment.

The Vṛṣākapi hymn, when studied with some other hymns of the Ṛgveda thus lights up many obscure points in the history of Indian religious ideas and practices. We have also incidentally learnt that the Persians of Iran may have come from the Yādava community of India. The Yādavas, as I have tried to indicate, were probably exclusive worshippers of the Sun. Mithraism that very much spread in Iran in historical times may possible be due to the Parśu=Yādava element in the Iranian population. Whether the erotic mysticism of the later Persian Sufis is due to that original Yādava element or to recent borrowings from western India or to independent development I must leave undetermined for the present.

P.S. :—A friend of mine in Banaras (Pandit Nārāyaṇa Śāstri Khiste Sāhityacārya of the Government Sanskrit College Librāry) objects that the erotic mysticism brought out above belongs really to *Āgamic* (Tāntric) culture and is not *Nigamic* (Vedic) in character. I do not want to make any pronouncement on the point, this way or or that way, now. Probably what I have said above leaves the question undetermined. I have only said that the cult of Vṛṣākapi as such has no necessary (or even likely) Dravidian origin. We have erotic mysticism associated with the Aryan national god Indra too (and its development can probably be traced from very early times). At any rate, what I have sought to establish is not exactly Vedic character of erotic mysticism but its existence in late Ṛgvedic times. Though the hymns discussed above are some of the latest in the Ṛgveda, some of their verses (and therefore the hymns themselves ?) are early enough to find place in the Taittirīya collections

and all these hymns have been analysed by Śākalya. The above discoveries raise important issues about the relation between Vedic and Tāntric (or Pañcarātric) cultures which I intend to pursue now. But I must be assured by scholars first that I have set out on a right track.

सत्यमेव जयतात्

(1.2)

MORE THOUGHTS ON VṚṢĀKAPI HYMN

This is in continuation of the discussion in the foregoing paper on the Vṛṣākapi Hymn (Ṛgveda, X, 86 and Atharvaveda, XX, 126) in the Allahabad University Journal (Vol. I, pp. 97-156). The hymn is considered as very obscure, and very various are the interpretations that have been put on it. To me it appeared that there was really no obscurity, all the difficulty being due to the assumption (by European scholars) that *Kapi* meant 'monkey'. Śaunaka in his Bṛhaddevatā seems to understand the word to mean simply *Kapila* 'tawny-coloured', a meaning which is supported by the text (हरितो मृगः in v.3). Indian tradition knows Vṛṣākapi to represent the Sun, and I have found this equation fully supported by verses 19-21 of the hymn. The hymn contains a dialogue between Indra and Indrāṇī over some offence of Vṛṣākapi. Indrāṇī tries to rouse the anger of Indra against him, but fails, and ultimately she has to be reconciled to Vṛṣākapi. Considerable imagination has been used by my predecessors in understanding what the offence was. But it has seemed to me that the text is very plain in making Vṛṣākapi usurp the especial worship of Aryans, which was Indra's wanton offence which would naturally cause the indignation of Indra's wife Indrāṇī. The very opening verse and the following one show this :-

वि नि सोतोरसृक्षत नेन्द्रं देवममं सत ।
यत्तामदद वृषाकपिरयंः पुष्टेषु मत्सखा विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥२॥

परा हीन्द्र धावसि वृषाकपेरति व्यथिः ।
नो अह प्रविन्दस्यन्यत्र सोमपीतये विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः ॥२॥

which may be translated as "(1) Men have given up the pressing of the Soma and they have not been worshipping the god Indra, whereas my 'friend' Vṛṣākapi has been exhilerating himself in the wealth (i.e., offerings) of the pious (or the rich). Indra is superior to all. (2) Thou passest by, Indra, without minding, the transgression of Vṛṣākapi, but thou findest not Soma to drink anywhere else. Indra is superior to all." Indrāṇī uses all the feminine guiles to bring over Indra to her point of view and to alienate his mind against Vṛṣākapi, but Indra continues impervious and says in verse 12, "I have never enjoyed Indrāṇī, without my firiend Vṛṣākapi, whose dear watery oblation (Soma ?) goes to the gods. Indra is superior to all." Vṛṣākapi is the Sun and the Ṛgveda has made Viṣṇu, also a solar deity (the same deity ?), इन्द्रस्य युज्यः सखा, "the associate friend of Indra." Consequently Indra could not be made jealous of Vṛṣākapi. Indrāṇī even appeals to Vṛṣākapi, Vṛṣākapi's wife, to allow Indra to partake of Soma and the animal offerings, but Indra magnanimously interposes and says that he is contented with only the bulls (secondary offerings ?). Indrāṇī tries to rouse a longing in Indra's mind for the Soma drink (principal offering ?) but she fails. She then ridicules him for his puritanism but is rebutted. Indrāṇī was soon compelled to give up her unsuccessful efforts and to welcome Vṛṣākapi to their home. "विश्वस्माद् इन्द्र उत्तरः" 'Indra is above all' is the refrain of every verse. It is evident from the hymn that there was prevailing somewhere and at some period an especial worship of the Sun, ousting the worship of the old national god Indra. This must have roused orthodox opposition which

required to be silenced. Our poet does this by diplomatically acknowledging the superiority of Indra in so many words (विश्वस्मादिन्द्र उत्तरः) and by getting the 'new' cult approved by Indra himself.

The last verse of the hymn is very peculiar. It says that one Parśu Mānavī (the 'woman' or the 'human wife') brought forth at one birth twenty children and though her burden had caused her pain it is good that has now come out of it.' What on earth can this mean ? The author, apparently a lady, has been pleading so cleverly for the worship of Vṛṣākapi. Does she look upon herself as his human spouse ? If so, there is obvious erotic mysticism here. This alone can explain 'twenty children at one birth' which is a human impossibility. It is possible, as verse 4 indicates, that Vṛṣākapi has been looked upon as a boar. If so, Parśu Mānavī is a 'sow'; and certainly sows bring forth quite a large number of offsprings at one birth. This sounds very strange. But we know that in Purāṇic times Viṣṇu (originally a Sun-god) was said to have incarnated himself as a Boar; and Vedic (Brāhmaṇic) source of this legend has been already found. The erotic mysticism that grew around the figure of Kṛṣṇa, another incarnation of Viṣṇu, is a fact very well-known to people. Searching for Vedic parallels, I find in R.V., VIII, 80 (91) a relation of erotic mysticism between Apālā (and a class of similar virgins) and Indra. It is from this point of view that the erotic verses at the end of VIII. 1 are probably to be explained.

The author of R.V., X, 86 is Parśu Mānavī, Māṇavī can hardly be her personal name. Nor can Parśu be so, for a prince has been given this name in VIII, 6.46, and we can never expect a female to be named as a male. Parśu is therefore a clan name. R.V., VIII, 6.46 makes Tirindira

Parśu a Yādva=Yādava. The Parśus were therefore in all probability Yādavas. R.V., VIII, 1.31 probably gives a variant form (Paśú) for the name Párśu, the change in accent beings possibly responsible for the syncopation of *r*—it is also thinkable that the form Paśú) is due to a 'metrical shortening', a phenomenon not unknown in the Ṛgveda. There too Yādava connexion is evident. I therefore infer that the Vṛṣākapi Hymn was composed by a Yādava lady. This at once reminds us that it is amongst these Yādavas that Kṛṣṇa lived and, according to legends, had *rāsalīlā* or amorous sports with *gopīs*. The hymns VIII. 80 (91) and X. 86 when studied together prove that Sun-worship supplanted Indra-worship, at least in a particular (Yādava) community, and assimilated, among other things, its erotic mysticism. Both these hymns, which are certainly earlier than the time of Kṛṣṇa, show that the legends of Kṛṣṇa's dalliances with the cowherd girls are due to an actual prevalence in historical times of erotic worship of the Godhead (Indra at one time and the Sun at a later stage or in a different section of the community) by a class of females who remained unmarried. Why Kṛṣṇa was identified with Viṣṇu now becomes elear, for Viṣṇu, the Sun, became the national god of Yādavas; the national hero easily passes into or is identified with the national god. The hymn X. 86 probably illumines also the origin of Bhāgavatism : Bhagavat may have originally been 'the Radiant One', 'the Sun.'

The connexion between Parśu and Persia is most obvious. In the Babylonian inscriptions the Perses have been called Parśus. Mithraism, an especial worship of the Sun, certainly flourished in Persia. Btt as the Parśus are a section of the Yādavas of hoary Indian antiquity,

the Persians seem to have migrated from India. Rai Bahadur R. Chanda certainly derived the Yādavas from Iran but his arguments do not stand criticism. The Yādavas are mentioned in even the earliest portions of the Ṛgveda but the Perses are not mentioned in any western inscriptions before the 9th century B.C., whereas the Medes receive this mention as early as the 28th century B.C.. The Perses may therefore have migrated from India in probably historical times, after the Bhārata battle.

It will be thus seen that my paper raises two important issues, one about the culutral history of India and another about the racial history of Iran. The second point has been only incidentally touched upon, and no justice could be done to it. I therefore intend writing in detail on this subject at an early date. But what I have written on the former subject in the paper mentioned above and in this note will afford to scholars some materials for reflection. Will they kindly pay any serious attention to them and consider if I do or do not solve some old problems ? I invite criticism from the knowing public and if they can disillusion me I shall be much obliged and I shall acknowledge my error openly.

P.S.—The erotic mysticism in R.V. VIII, 1, VIII 80 (91) and X. 86 is probably to be connected with the (revolting) ceremony the *mahiṣī* has to perform with the stifled horse (a symbol for the Sun) in the Aśvamedha. One would also think here of the symbolic 'obscenities' of many primitive peoples to help the fertilising of the earth, for which we have a Vedic parallel in the Mahāvarata rite,. Turning to Iran, I may note that some scholars have supposed that *Yasna* 32.10 points to nocturnal orgies among some worshippers of Mithra; but I

have myself not been able to understand the passage in that light. But the fact that Herodotus (I. 131) confounds Mithra with Mylitta, the Assyrian goddess of child-bearing may indicate some erotic element in the Mithra-cult of his day. One should note that the "Father of History" makes Mithra a foreign importation in Persia. The Semitic derivation has been rejected by scholars as absurd. It is commonly believed by Avestan scholars that Mithra was introduced ('re-introduced') into the Zoroastrian pantheon after Zarathushtra. We may now think that the cult went from India or received an impetus from that source. In conclusion I may remind scholars of *Yasna* 42. 4-6 and the interpretation Tiele has put on it, though I am not sure that he is right in making *Soma* 'Indian' and not 'Aryan' (or, according to his own language, 'East-Aryan'). Lastly, does not the *Bacchanala* of Euripides support the westward migration of a female cult of erotic mysticism resembling what we find in R.V. VIII. 80 (91)?

Note

This was published as a supplementary note in the Vṛṣākapi hymn in the form of a letter addressed to the Editor, Calcutta Review.

(1.3)

INDRA IN THE ṚGVEDA AND THE AVESTA

Various views have been held by scholars about the original nature of the Vedic god Indra. Though opinions have by now converged to one point, all the facts connected with Indra are not adequately explained. The problem seems to be further complicated by the fact that his Avestic counterparts, Verethraghna and Indra, are respectively a Spirit of Light and a Demon. Martin Haug's theory about the religious schism between the Indians and the Iranians, now abandoned by European scholars but still popular in India, does not give us much help.

That Indra is a god of thunder and rain is certainly quite evident. But this function may be quite adventitious. Trita Āptya, an early god whom Indra seems to have ousted, had just the same function. We have to keep in mind Indra's connexion with war. But "god of war" will not be an adequate explanation either. Indra helps fighters, but chiefly Aryan fighters and that against their non-Aryan enemies. This fact ought to be kept in mind. Could he have been simply the national god of the Aryans or of some Aryan tribes ? Perhaps. Vṛtra in most passages of the Ṛgveda means certainly the cloud-demon. But in some passages in the family books (e.g., III, 53. 11), it means simply "enemy", and that is the sence of the first element in Verethraghna. This meaning may therefore go back to Aryan times, the derivation

being from *vṛ* "to cover, to envelop, to *surround.*" Transference of the name in later times to 'aerial' enemies of mankind is readily understood. Verethraghna of the Avesta would therefore be a very close correspondent of Indra of the pre-Ṛgvedic and early Ṛgvedic Indo-Aryans.

How then did the Indian Indra come to have an especial connexion with the phenomenon or raining ? The process is not difficult of understanding. Everything good, everything beneficial to the community, would be ascribed to the kindness of the national god. Parallels may be adduced from almost every country. Without rains man cannot subsist, and the Aryans formed no exception to this rule. Therefore Indra had to be made responsible for the enlivening drops of water the heavens yield annually after a long drought. Indra would therefore be first a national god, then as a corollary of this fact, a god of war and a god of rain.

We can probably guess at another aspect of Indra. His especial connection with the Soma draught is well-known. The drink chiefly belongs to him. This we find in the Ṛgveda, and in the later Soma ritual the prominence of Indra is not substantially altered. Now an early name for Soma is Indu and it is probably from *Indu* that the name *Indra* is deived. This Indu or Soma is endowed in the Ṛgveda with a characetristic feat of Indra, the conquest of Vṛtra (as a cloud-demon). That is probably because Indu=intoxication of the Some juice) was in some way identical with Indra. We "may have here partially a case of Frazer's sacrificing the god unto himself. "The Aryans seemed to have traced their ancestry to Indu or Soma, as is evidenced by the Purāṇic genealogy of the Candra (?) dynasty and a statement in Megasthenes (*vide* my paper on this subject in the

Third Oriental Conference). A certain amount of totemism might be involved here. Such ideas would of course be repugnant to many but such may really be the indication of facts. The Soma ritual, however, seems to have been at first peculiar to the Indian branch of the Aryans and to have entered Iran in a post-Zarathustrian period. Therefore the identification of Indra with Indu or Soma would not go to the times when the ancestors of the Indians and the Iranians were living together as one people.

Verethraghna in the Avesta is therefore an Aryan survival. But not so Indra. He is found only in the Vendidad, the latest of the Avestan texts, and probably only once. Indra is mentioned as a demon to be driven away, along with Sauru and Nāunghaithya (Vd. X, 9). It is possible that these three names are of deities of the neighbouring Indians. That is probably because the Iranians of Parthian or Sassanian times looked upon the Indians as upon all other neighbouring tribes with eyes of contempt, and the writer of the passage fancifully chose some of their gods as demons. Milton's *Paradise Lost* would naturally come to one's mind in this connexion. It should be kept in mind that hostility to Indra or to things Indian is not found in the earlier texts of the Avesta, and Haug's theory of original schism should not therefore be dragged in to explain Indra's demonhood. We should also keep in mind that Indra's character degraded in India too by Purāṇic times; and the Nāsatyas were then not much worshipped and their names could therefore be misunderstood in Iran. Whom Sauru corresponded to, Śarva or Śaru(=Arrow or Dart of Death ?) is not very clear.

(1.4)

THE CRADLE OF THE INDRA-VṚTRA MYTH

आराद्‌ सप्तसिन्धूनां सरणे कारणं हरिम्‌ ।
यद्देशे रूपकन्त्वेतत्‌ प्रागुत्पन्नं विचारये ॥
देशोऽसौ बल्कशप्रान्त एशियाभुवि मध्यतः ।
"सेमिरेशिन्स्क्‌" इति ख्यातः स "सप्तसिन्धुर" अर्थतः ॥

I have elsewhse said that the character of the Ṛgvedic Indra is very complex (*Proceedings, IV* All India Oriental Conf. pp. 11 ff.). I have there tried to show that the most original trait of Indra that we can think of on the basis of the available evidence is that of a national God. Several problems about Indra have yet remained unsolved. I have not there called into question the correctness of Indra's connexion with the phenomenon of raining as given by tradition and generally accepted by scholars. But some Western scholars still hold that Indra had no connexion with rains in the Ṛgvedic period. I believe that there is ample evidence in the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* for this connexion. Without entering into a discussion of this question, which I reserve for a later occasion, I wish to discuss here a certain problem in the Indra-Vṛtra myth, which presupposes Indra's having something to do with rains even in the Ṛgvedic period.

The myth of Indra's annual fight with the demon who keeps away rain waters, variously named as Śambara, Ahi, Śuṣṇa, etc., or more usually Vṛtra, is briefly this. The 'Enemy' (as the word *vṛtra* means, *vide* pp. 14–16)

steals away the cows (=waters) and keeps them concealed in the cave Vala (=*vara*, an enclosure, from √*vr*. 'to surround'). Indra attacks him with the Maruts (the storm gods) and other helpers, chases him from rock to rock (i.e. cloud to cloud), finds him at last, and kills him. The covering stone of Vala is also shattered and the waters are released and with eagerness they go the way of the Ocean.

Now, very often our poets describe Indra's victory as 'letting the rivers, or more specifically the Seven Rivers, to flow'.[1] What does the letting loose of the Seven Rivers mean? Does it merely refer to the falling of the rain waters from the sky in the usual metaphorical style of the *Rgveda Saṁhita*? But that seems impossible in view of the fact that rain waters have been metaphorically described in the *Ṛgveda Saṁhita* as cows. The specification of the number of rivers also creates difficulty. It seems, therefore, more likely that actual rivers were meant. Two problems arise in this connexion.

When rivers are described as let loose by Indra to flow, the inference is natural that they were not flowing before his intervention. As this fight of Indra with Vṛtra is an annual affair, the rivers should have ceased to flow before the annual rains. But could such a condition have been even prevailed in the Punjab and its adjoining lands, where the Ṛgvedic hymns must have come into existence? The geographical allusions scattered throughout the *Ṛgveda Saṁhita* leave no doubt in our mind as to

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1. Rv. I. 32. 12, 61. 10; II. 11. 2, 12. 3, 12, 15. 3; IV. 17. 1, 18. 7, 19. 3, 5, 6. 8, 28. 1, 42. 7; VII. 18. 24, 67. 8 (?); VIII. 32. 25, 85. 1, 18, 89. 12; X. 49. 9, 67. 12, 89. 7; III. 9, 133. 2.

where the whole of that literature, or at least the main body of it, must have been composed. But water never fails in the rivers of the Punjab during summer and this has been the climatic condition of the province all throughout the present geological epoch. The reason is not far to seek : these rivers are all fed by glacier streams, which run throughout the summer on account of the increased melting of the snow. Consequently it could never have been true of the rivers of the Punjab in the present epoch that they were not flowing before Indra annually killed Vṛtra and released the pent up waters. These rivers, therefore, could not have given rise to the myth of Indra letting loose the rivers to flow again (अवासृजत् सर्तवे सप्तसिन्धन्, etc.). We thus have a problem as to rivers of which lead are responsible for this seemingly traditional expression.

The next problem is what are the *seven* rivers. Various explanations have been given as to what specific rivers stand for the number *seven*. Durgācārya's statement that they are the seven atmospheric streams, Bahulā, Aśvā, Titutrā, Abhrapatnī, Varṣayantī, and Arundhā (or Purastādarundhā) ?[2] need not be seriously taken. The rivers must be earthly rivers. Otherwise the land of the Indo-Aryans could hardly have been called in the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* (VIII, 24, 27) *Saptā Sīndhuṣu* and in the Avesta (Vend I, 19) *hapta hindu*. Sāyaṇa's *Gaṅgādyāḥ sapta nadyaḥ* does not deserve any better consideration, for the group, Gaṅgā, Yamunā, Godāvarī, Sarasvatī, Narmadā, Sindhu and Kāverī, belong to a time long posterior to the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā*, when Aryan civilization had spread all over

2. Commentary on the *Nirukta,* Venkateswar Press Edition, p. 428.

India. That *saptā* can mean *sarpaṇaśīlāh,* as Sāyaṇa also suggests, cannot be believed for a moment. The European efforts at fixing the rivers have not succeeded either.[3] One cannot see why they should be the Indus, the five well-known tributaries of the Indus that have given the Panjab its name and the Sarasvati or the Oxus. This fixation seems extremely arbitrary. The poets of the Ṛgvedic hymns know of many more streams, like the Gomatī, the Yamunā and the Sarayū, mentioned several times, which should hardly have been omitted from the enumeration. Zimmer's view, which the authors of the *Vedic Index* accept, that there is no particular significance in the number is no better. If the number five in *Pānca Jānāḥ* is significant, one wonders why it should not be so in *Saptā Sīndhavaḥ.* So instead of cutting the Gordian knot in the way Zimmer has done, we should hold 'seven' to be a traditional number, coming from a place where the Aryans lived earlier and where there were seven and only seven rivers. The number would cling to popular nemory long after the original home was forgotten and remain fixed in popular or at least hieratic expression. In several districts of Bengal the adjacent river is called Gāṅg (=Gaṅgā), though it is not the Ganges.

H. Brunnhofer in his *Urgeschichte der Arior in Vorder- und Central-Asien,* Vol. II, p. 22 ff., suggests the name of such a possible earlier home of the Indo-Aryans. It is Semirechinsk in Russian Turkestan, watered by the Ili, Lepsa, Karatal, Baskan, Aksu, Sarkan, and Biyen, seven rivers which flow into the Lake Balkash. Brunnhofer has gained a certain notoriety for wild speculations.

3. See Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 424.

Consequently this extremely good suggestion of his did not catch the attention of sober scholars. Dr. N. G. Sardesai of Poona made the self-same suggestion, quite independently of Brunnhofer, in the *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume,* pp. 93–96, and his writing must have attracted the notice of at least Indian scholars. Semirechinsk, the name of the province, means 'the Land of the Seven Rivers'.

Strangely enough, of the seven rivers of this land, some do dry up before the rains. 'The Lepsa, Ili, and Kartal alone reach Balkash throughout the year, all the others either losing themselves in the sands or discharging their waters into the lake only during the floods.'[4] 'The climate' of the place 'is thoroughly continental. In tho Balkash steppes the winter is very cold; the lake freezes every year and the thermometer falls to 13° F. In the Alakul steppes the winds blow away the snow. The passage from winter to spring is very abrupt and the prairies are rapidly clothed with vegetation, which, however, is soon scorched up by the sun.'[5] In addition to the general dry character of Central Asia, it is well known to students of geography, how desiccation has gone on in this part for centuries and millenniums.[6] Consequently drying up of rivers before the rains in such a region as Semirechinsk can very easily be understood. It is quite likely that a period of unusual drought, say

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4. Keane, *Asia,* (1896), Vol. I, p. 130.

5. *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* 11th Ed., Vol. 24, p. 617. See there the articles on Semirechinsk, Semipalatinsk and Balkash.

6. See E. Huntington's *Pulse of Asia* and the three volumes of the two Pumpelly Expeditions.

the one between 3000 and 2200 B.C.,[7] led the Aryans or some of them to leave the land and march towards India and may be also towards Iran. The Balkash region may easily have been a starting point for the southward and westward marches of the Aryans.

This Semirechinsk could well be the land where the idea of Indra letting loose the pent up (seven) rivers arose. The occasional drought of the land would also explain the conception of the demon Śuṣṇa (Drought) in the Indra myth and the rigours of the cold season the expression *hima*=winter for the year or the myth of Indra piercing Arbuda with snow (Ṛv. S. VIII, 32, 26).

We do not yet know if any other place can give an equally satisfactory or a better explanation for these traits in the Indra-Vṛtra myth. For want of any other satisfactory explanation we may tentatively place the Cradle of the Indra-Vṛtra myth in Semirechinsk, the Land of Seven Rivers, in Russian Turkestan. Here the Aryans could have lived long and developed their peculiar characteristics, after separating from the other Indo-European peoples. If the original home of the Indo-European was in Siberia, as De Morgan[8] would have us believe, Semirechinsk would be on the way to India and Iran.

Strangely enough, this province also satisfies the various data philologists have posited for the Indo-European Urheimat. But I do not yet dare to rush to

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7. See Brooke, *Climate through the Ages*, p. 358.

8. *La Préhistoire Orientale*, Vol. III; see also Jarl Charpentier in *B.S.O.S.* IV, 170.

the conclusion that Paradise is to be 'regained' here. Peter Giles' words of caution in the Encyclopaedia Britannica (11th Edition, Vol. 14, pp. 498-500) should be borne in mind though he himself forgot them later.[9] Let that Urheimat yet remain undetermined.

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9. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, Ch. 3.

1.5

HISTORY OF VEDIC RELIGION

I

वाग्देवीं मनसाध्यात्वा वेदरूपेण संस्थिताम् ।
वेदधर्मेतिहासस्य प्रक्रमं करवाण्यहम् ॥

Richness and variety have characterised the ancient literature of India; But history has been its one weak point. There are a few scattered references to historical events in the Vedas and the Great Epics and a number of chronicles in the Purāṇas. But these are not sufficient for a consecutive history of events and the development of culture. Change is the law of nature. Though religion shows the greatest amount of conservatism, change has overtaken it as much as any other activity of man. Manu speaks of different religions practices in the different cycles:

अन्ये कृतयुगे धर्मास्त्रेतायां द्वापरेऽपरे ।
अन्ये कलियुगे नृणां युगह्रासानुरूपतः ॥
तपः परं कृतयुगे त्रेतायां ज्ञानमुच्यते ।
द्वापरे यज्ञमेवाहुर्दानमेकं कलौ युगे ॥ (१।८५-६)

Our *Sanātana* Dharma is in one sense eternal. There are two kinds of *nitya* or 'eternal' substances, (1) *Kūṭastha-nitya* or unchanging eternal and (2) *Pravāhi-Nitya* or changing eternal. *Sanātana* Dharma is eternal in the latter sense. It is, therefore, natural that the Vedic religion which is the earliest phase of Sanātana Dharma, should itself have undergone considerable changes during the many centuries that we have to posit for the Vedic period of Indian history.

A historical approach enables us to understand clearly the different elements of any culture. Vedic studies are no exception to this rule. The Mahābhārata and the Purāṇas have also said

इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।
बिभेत्यल्पश्रुताद्वेदो मामयं प्रहरिष्यति ॥

I am, therefore, attempting a historical analysis of Vedic religion.

For the modern student *Itihāsa* and *Purāṇa* do not stand for the texts known by these names in Sanskrit literature but the whole range of human history in and outside India. A century of patient collection of materials in the field of anthropology has shown that the human mind works more or less similarly under similar circumstances. Comparative studies teach us that God has not chosen any particular race as his special favourite. Wherever any particular race has made advances on a particular line, that has been due to certain favourable circumstances in the environment of that race which would have helped other races similarly if those circumstances were present with them. A student of history cannot be wedded to either a diffusionist or an evolutionary outlook in the appraisal of human culture. He has to decide on the evidence available whether a particular institution has evolved independently or has been borrowed from another people.

To the historian, Vedic culture is not a homogeneous entity: it contains materials of different ages and of

1. Vāyu Purāṇa, I.200. 1, Padma Purāṇa V-2-51-52, Mahābhārata, Bhandarkar edition I. 1.204 (the reading प्रतरिष्यति in that edition makes no sense and seems also to be unjustified by the manuscript evidence).

different inspirations. It is too late in the day to doubt that the Aryans have come from outside India. There must have been an extra-Indian basis of Vedic culture. There was the Indo-European period and still later the Indo-Iranian period before the Indo-Aryan period begins. The Aryans coming to India did not come to a soil that was uninhabited by uncivilized people. Our recent discoveries have taught us that pre-Aryan India was a very civilized country, both materially and spiritually. It was inevitable that when the Aryans settled down in India, they were influenced by the pre-Aryans. There must have been other influences that have helped in the development of the Indo-Aryan Vedic culture but we have only a few stray indications about this.

Turning to the Indo-European period, our evidence is mainly linguistic. Comparative mythologists of the earlier generations thought that the Indo-Europeans worshipped only forces of nature, the Sky, the Sun, the Dawn, Fire, the Waters, the Wind, the Thunder etc. The common terms lend a good deal of colour to the theory that these forces were worshipped as gods by the undivided people. It must however be admitted that the linguistic evidence is not complete. The equations, *Sūrya-Helios-Sol*, *Agni-Agnus*, *Vāta-Wotan* etc. show that the objects connoted by these terms bore common names in the undivided times. The linguistic evidence shows that these *objects* were *worshipped*. It is at best a possibility or even a probability, the evidence being *literary*, as opposed to linguistic. The sole exception is *Dyaus-Pitṛ*=Zeus Pater= Juppiter (Tyr) in which case the common term expressing personal relationship (father) proves conclusively that the Sky was personified and worshipped by the Indo-Europeans as a father God. It is also very likely that the

Earth was also personified as a Mother Goddess. The primitive Mundas of India are known to have been worshipping the Sun as Father and the Earth as mother.

It is generally believed by students of Vedic mythology that another equation Váruṇa-Ouranós for the sky-god is authenticated for the Indo-European period. Even philologists of repute have accepted the equation. But where is the evidence ? It is admitted by persons who accept the equation that there is nothing in Vedic literature to indicate that Varuṇa had anything to do with the Sky and there is hardly any evidence in Greek literature for us of the word Ouranós=Sky for a god. Linguistically there are two serious difficulties against this equation, (1) the difference in the second vowel in these words and (2) the difference in accentuation. The Sanskrit word has vowel *u* in the second syllable and it is accented on the first syllable and the Greek word has *a* in the second syllable and it is accented on the last syllable. We could have brushed aside either of these difficulties, if the literary evidence in support was compelling. But it is far from so. Why then hug to our breasts an equation which is of such a doubtful nature ? The so-called analogues of Varuṇa in Iranian literature Varana and Ahura Mazda are no analogues at all. The Indo-European Sky-God appears thus to have been known by only one name which corresponds to Dyaus-Zeus &c.

Besides a number of gods personifying forces of nature, the Indo-Europeans appear to have worshipped gods presiding over specific departments of human activity. H. Usener has made out a very strong case for Sonder-Götter or departmental Gods in his book *Die Gotternamen.* Though the evidence is literary and not linguistic, it is

on a par with the evidence about nature gods other than Dyaus. The phenomenon of abstract gods in the Vedas like Manyu or Brahmaṇaspati or of the Amasha-Spantas in the Avestā like Kshathra Vairya Asha or Aramaiti is thus no new creation of the Indo-Aryan or the Irano-Aryan period, respectively.

We have no evidence of notions of monotheism in the Indo-European period as contended for even primitive peoples by Andrew Lang and Pater Schmidt.

Literary evidence seems to indicate that the Indo-Europeans considered trees or the woods to be the especial abode of gods. We have in the Ṛv. S.

यस्मिन् वृक्षे सुपलाशे देवैः संपिबते यमः ।
अत्रा नोविश्पतिः पिता पुराणाँ अनुवेनति ॥

Tacitus's *Germanis* clearly mentions the presence of this idea among the ancient Germans. The name *Druid*= *dru-vid* ('the knower of the tree') for the priests of the ancient Kelts points in the same direction.

वटे वटे वैश्रवणश्चत्वरे चत्वरे शिवः ।
कानने कानने रामः सर्वत्र मधुसूदनः ॥

repeats the same idea. Words like Aṅgiras-Greek *Angelos* *Bṛhaspati*—O. Icelandic *Bragi*-Old Irish *Brigit* et c. perhaps indicate that in the I.E. period, there was also the institution of priesthood, an inference made probable by the presence of priests or medicine men or shamans among primitive peoples.

Coming to the Indo-Iranian period, we find a large number of common deities with common or similar mythological traits like Sūrya-Hvard, Mitra-Mithra, Vṛtrahan-Verethraghna, Āpāt-Ābān, Apāṁ Napāt-Apām Napāt, Vāyyu-Vāyu, Yame-Yima, Vivasvat-Vivaṅuhat,

Soma-Haoma, (Candra) mās-Mānha. Our sources of information for this period are the Vedas, the Avesta, the Ancient Persian Inscriptions, the Śaka and other central Asian documents and, strangely enough, Herodotus's History. Herodotus's account of the religion of the Persians and the Śakas agrees very well with that we can gather about the earliest phase of Vedic religion as gleaned from the earliest texts of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā*. Very simple sacrifices were performed to the gods without the lighting of fires or pouring of libations. Herodotus speaks about only one priest in the Persian worship. Though there was arthropomorphic conception of the gods, no images were made or worshipped. Aniconism has characterised Vedic ritual and worship up to the days of the latest *paddhatis*. As regards lighting up of fires, this was not an original practice in the Vedic sacrifice. Gods have been again invoked to come and sit on the Kuśa grass (barhis) and there partake of the Soma. Offering of the *havis* in Agni for other deities appears to be a late practice. Offering of the *havis* in fire in a main sacrifice *(pradhāna yāga)* is considered by Mīmāṁsakas to be merely a *pratipattikarman* (defined as 'उपयुक्तस्य आकीर्णकरस्य विहितदेशे प्रक्षेपः') like the consignment in *Gaṅgā-jala* or *go-mukha* of the *piṇḍa* in a *śrāddha*. The Yāga is accomplished the moment *vaṣaṭkāra* is pronounced by the Hotṛ and the yajamāna utters the *tyāga mantra*. Another important information vouchsafed by Herodotus is that of three things every Persian boy had to learn was how to speak the truth. Truth is a cardinal virtue in Aryan conception.

Practice among the ancient Greeks and Romans and the pre-Christian Slavs, however, indicated that fire was maintained and worshipped. The Hearth fire or the

House fire was the Protector of the household, including the animals. The Slavic Hearth Fire *Domovoy* (House-Friend, cf वर्धमानं स्व आदमे in Ṛvs. I. 1.) looked after the horses. This explains how Rudra who was originally a fire-God, became *Paśu-pati*, the Lord of the Cattle.

Before we pass on to the Indo-Aryan period, we have to take into cognisance a few facts of history. Though I have said at the start that it is too late in the day to doubt the theory that the Aryans came to India from outside, it must be confessed that for all the attempts of scholars belonging to different disciplines to fix the home of undivided Indo-Europeans, that home has not yet been determined. We do not know where it was, the confident claims of different scholars notwithstanding. It is a big X. From that point, however, there seems to have taken place at a remote antiquity the dispersal of the ancestors of the *centum*-speaking peoples and the *satem*-speaking peoples, the former probably moving towards Europe and the latter towards the great grassland stretching from Europe to Asia or perhaps to Asia only. After this original dispersal, several movements from the east to the west and from the west to the east seem to have taken place, including the coming to Kucha of a *centum*-speaking Western tribe represented in the wall paintings in Chinese Turkestan with blue eyes. The linguistic and other agreements between the Balto-Slavs and the Indo-Iranians point towards the former being offshoots of Aryans, using the word in the narrower sense (Indo-Irano-Armenians). Mesopotamian inscriptions show that at least one Aryan tribe, the Medes, reached Western Asia as early as the twenty-eighth century before Christ. There is no difficulty, therefore, in assuming that the Aryans first came to India at least about that time. Of the

several Aryan tribes whose existence in Western Asia is evidenced by Assyrian and Egyptian inscriptions, the Mitanis, the Kassites and Persians, the last two show the use of tribal or personal names *Kāśī* or *Kuru*, which are found in exactly the same form among Indo-Aryans and must, therefore, be more nearly connected with the Indo-Aryans. I have already referred to Herodotus's account of the religion of the Persians and pointed out its close connexion with early Vedic religion. In a paper that I had communicated to the Brussels section of the International Congress of Orientalists in 1938, I pointed out the close connexion between the Kassite Earth Goddess *Shimalia,* the Lady of the Mountain with the Indian Umā, connected with the Hīmālayas, Kātyāyanī connected with the Vindhyas, Kāmākhyā connected with Nīlāchala and Chāmuṇḍeśvarī connected with the Chamunda Hill. Another important Aryan tribe settled in Asia Minor was that called by the Greeks Phrugioi exactly corresponding to our Bhṛgus, who appear to have introduced in India an especial Fire Cult.

Some words have got to be said here about the mention of the four gods Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and Nāsatya in a treaty between the Hittite King Ghubbiluliuna and the Mitannian King Mativāja, of ± 1350 B.C., found in the archives of Boghaz-Köi in Asia Minor. Hermann Jacobi's views about the antiquities of the Vedas on astronomical grounds did not generally find favour with European scholars. When, therefore, Hirgo Winkler announced those 4 names in the Mitanni-Hittite Treaty in 1906, Jacobi acclaimed them as evidence of the existence of the Vedas from before 1350 B.C. This was not acceptable to those European who were wedded to the theory that the Vedas start from about 1000 B.C. They,

therefore, described these gods as Aryan, Proto-Iranian etc and not as Indian or Vedic, as they should have been. This is what we can describe as *Kuśa-Kāśāvalambana* (a drowning man catching at a straw). Sten Konow, however, recognised those gods as Indian deities in 1917. I gave grammatical proof of these deities being Vedic gods in my Presidential Address before the Veda section of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum in 1937. These four names are among a large number of gods and goddesses invoked by the two kings to stand as witnesses of their covenant. We have among those gods and goddesses all names familiar to us from the cuneiform records. These four names stand out as singular. The use of the plural determination *Itāni* before Mitra, Varuṇa and Nāsatya, clearly corresponds to (1) The *devatādvandva* between Mitra and Varuṇa and the frequent us of either word in the dual number like the *devatādvandva* itself in the Vedic texts and to (2) the description of the Nāsatyas in Nasatya, Aśvin and other names for these twin gods. The Babylonian tablet on the training of horses using, according to E. Forrer, *Indian* numerals, makes it very likely that Indo-Aryan dealers in horses following the Vedic religion used to go at least as far west as Mesopotamia in the course of their trade. The four Vedic gods are thus gods known through Indo-Aryan traders or colonists in Asia Minor. Herodotus drew his knowledge of the Persian religion and customs from Persian colonists in Asia Minor. We have similar evidence of Indian traders and their activities at the Caspian oil centre at Baku in the nineteenth century A.D.

It is probably in the course of such trading activities that contacts were established in antiquity between Western Asian culture and Indo-Aryan Vecic culture about

which I shall speak later. A.H. Sayce and others have unnecessarily explained the names Mitra, Varuṇa Indra and Nāsatya as names of gods of Aryans on their way to India.

I now come to the advent of the Aryans in India. I have already mentioned that when the Aryans first came to India they found the land inhabited by civilized people. What formerly used to be called the Indus Valley civilization and later called Harappan culture now appears to have been fairly well-spread throughout India. Its vestiges have been found as far south as Gujarat. This was perhaps the civilization of the ancestors of the Dravidians. Though the Dravidians of the South have been recently connected directly with the Mediterranean world, their occupation of Northern India in ancient times and gradual movement to the South under the pressure of the Aryans seems to be supported by the facts known to us. In any case of the different races occupying the Panjab and Sindh when the Aryans came there, at least one appears to have been highly cultured, both materially and spiritually. When the Aryans first came to India there was probably no commingling of two cultures, the culture of the conquerors and that of the conquered. I have said elsewhere, that the Aryan conquest appears to have been a case of *Veni, Vidi, Vici,* on the side of the Aryans and *Jaṅghābalam* or *adarśanam lopaḥ* on the side of the non-Aryans. Real contact probably started when the Aryans crossed the Beas and the Satlaj and settled in Kurukṣetra or still later when they reached Magadha.

Attempts have been made to represent the Indus basin civilization as the culture of the Aryans or of pre-Ṛgvedic Aryans. I have replied to some of these arguments in my Presidential Address in the Veda section

of the Trivandrum Oriental Conference and also in the discussion that took place after the delivery of the Address. The Indus civilisations is essentially iconic, whereas the Vedic Aryans had nothing to do with *icons*. Another decisive factor is that the horse played an important part in the Indo-European domestic and social economy and had a definite place in at least the Aryan religions life. But the horse is practically unknown in the Indus basin. The remains at Mohenjodaro shows that the people there know and practised *Yoga* and were acquainted with some of its *āsanas* and *mudrās*. We shall see later the bearing of these facts on the history of Vedic religion.

I have not so for defined religion. I must do it before I describe Vedic religion. *Religion* has been differently defined by different scholars. In some definitions it appears to be dogma which cannot be correct. If religion were only a dogma, a set of views, the religious man would have been only a scholar or at best a philosopher. The practically unlettered sage of Dakṣineśvara would not they have been a living embodiment of religion. If *pratīti*, (understanding) and *vyavahāra* (usage) are determining factors in our comprehension of world, as in the Nyāya system of thought, religion also must be understood as a particular *way of life* based on a particular view about phenomena connected therewith. If we call a man leading a particular kind of life 'religious', religion must be defined in terms of that life. In offering our definition, we should avoid as in our Nyāya system, the faults of *ativyāpti* (ultra-pervasiveness) and avyāpti (non-pervasiveness). It must not suit only our own religions. It must cover all religions. Acceptance of one God, worship of many gods and even want of faith in any

god at all have been found in different religions. But everywhere there has been the acceptance of something higher, something nobler be it a being or a number of begings or a state. Keeping these points in mind., I define Religion as '*Belief in Higher Existence with striving for its Realisation.*' An apparent objection will be from the popular conception of Buddhism which is undoubtedly a religion. But that objection based on an incorrect understanding of Buddhist scriptures and of Buddhist religions practices show that the goal *Nirvāṇa* is not *extinction*. If Nirvāṇa is blowing out, it is the blowing out of the lamp of desires and no effacing of the self. The *śūnya-vāda* of the Mādhyamikas is not a faith of non-existence : चतुष्कोटिविनिर्मुक्तं तत्त्वं माध्यमिका जगुः is their clear assertion. The Pali canon of the Sthaviravādins also has gone into raptures over the joy of *Nibbāṇa*. The goal of the Buddhist votary also is thus a realisation of a Higher Existence. In the unfolding of the history of Vedic religion in my two subsequent lectures this definition will be borne in mind.

HISTORY OF VEDIC RELIGION

II

प्रजापतिं नमस्कृत्य सर्वदेवाधिदैवतम् ।
वेदधर्मप्रसङ्गेन भाषणं पुनरारभे ।।

After settling a number of preliminaries, I now present before you a historical survey of the Vedic gods. Here also a few general remarks are needs at the start. According to our tradition "मन्त्रब्राह्मणयोर्वेदनामधेयम्", Veda means Mantras and their explanations, the Brahmanas. Āraṇyakas and Upaniṣads are also included under these two categories. The history that I am to survey here is gathered from all these classes of texts.

Of the Mantra texts, the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* is generally assumed to be the earliest portion. But this is a mere assumption. Analytical study has shown that there are early (definitely the earliest) portions and late portions in the *Ṛgveda saṁhitā*- In the language of E.V. Arnold it is more of a library than a book. There are even very late portions in this text. We can roughly take it to be containing materials fron the earliest to the latest periods of Vedic history.

This *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* is a collection of prayers addressed to different deities. Tho so-callod secular matter in it, like the Gambler's lament (X.34) also ends in a prayer addressed to the dice. Of these deities in each family collection Agni comes first, Indra next and Viśve or All Gods third and other gods or goddesses come next- This may suggest that Agni was the most important of the

gods. But the fact that Indra hymns are more numerous than Agni hymns indicated that Agni was given greater importance by the collectors of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* who appear to have had the needs of the developed ritual before them when they set about gathering together all the floating materials needed by the Hotṛ priest. It is quite possible or rather very likely that Yajurvedic material was collected before the Ṛgvedic material was gathered. The importance of Agni in the developed ritual was that Agni was a *sine qua non* for the performance of any sacrifice.

Let us, therefore, start with AGNI. We have already seen that Agni appears to have been worshipped from the earliest Indo European times. He was, however worshipped on his own account. The use of Agni for sacrifices to other gods appears to have been a later development. The reason for this transition appears to be that Fire as Light was considered as a counter-entity of darkness and thus an adversary of all the forces of evil that prosper or function in darkness. The Parsi religion was described in antiquity by Greek and Roman writers as a religion of Duality, of a belief in two forces opposed to each other. But a careful study of other religions and folk-lores shows that such a nation of duality has been present everywhere. If there were the gods for doing good to us, there were the demons also for doing us harm. The Vedic Aryans also believed in demons whom they originally called by the names of Dāsá or Dásyu (sic) and later by Asura or Rakṣhas. The lighting of fire dispelled darkness. Hence Agni became Rakṣohan and setting up of Agni and his worship became necessary before the performance of any sacrifice. I may here cite the parallel of lighting of a lamp in our Smārtu ceremonies. Agni

became the Invoker of the Gods, because the lighting of fire was a signal to the gods to get ready for partaking of offerings made by men. When these offerings began to be made in Agni he became the Mouth of the Gods (अग्निमुखा ह वै देवाः), The Bhṛgus have been described as having brought fire from Heaven. This may permit an inference that they were responsible for the introduction of an especial fire-cult. The names Atharvan (=Possesser of fire) and Aṅgiras (=Messenger) were also associated with Bhṛgu. It is not yet clear to us what that especial fire-cult was like. It may have led to the development of those *śānti,* and *puṣṭ* ceremonies that later became the special province of the Atharva Veda. Conceptions similar to those in the Atharva Veda are however, found in plenty in the other Vedas. As Agni came to be needed in every sacrifice, he became the special god of the priests who developed a personal relationship with him of the nature of *bhakti* (cf स नंः पितेंव सूनवेऽग्नें सूपायुनो भंव (in I. 1. 9) which is among those facts which disprove Grierson's view that bhakti has came to India under Christian influence.

Agni became not only *havya-vāhana* (the carrier of oblations) but also *kavya-vāhana* (the carrier of offerings to the Pitṛs). Disposal of the dead body by burning in fire is also found among other Indo-European peoples in antiquity and may have been a common Indo-European practice. There are, however, references in the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* to going after death to an earthen chamber meaning probably burial. But if we take this as the burial of the ashes in an earthen vessel, all difficulties are removed and there is accord with all the facts known so far. Agni was thus not only *havya-vāhana* and *kavya-vāhana* but also *kravya-vāhana.* Other forms of Agni, Agni

Sviṣṭakṛt, Tanūnapāt, Narāśaṁsa appear to have come in for worship.

The Indo-Aryans seem to have developed from an early age a tendency of seeing unity in the midst of diversity. Fire on earth was realised to be the same as lightning in the sky and the Sun higher up. This idea is reflected in Ṛv. S. II. 35. 13

स ई॒॑ वृषा॑ जनय॒न्तासु॒ गर्भ॒॑ स ई॒॑ शिशु॑र्धयति॒ तं रिं॑हन्ति ।
सो अ॒पां नपा॒दन॑भिम्लातवर्णो॒ऽन्यस्ये॑वे॒ह त॒न्वा॑ विवेश ॥

The fastness of lightning made for its conception as a horse. In the ritual for setting up of fire (agnyādhāna) the fire that was produced by attrition was made to touch the feet of a horse before being put on the altar suggesting that it is the same fire which has come from heaven. Anthropologists believe that man first learnt about fire and its domestic use from forests catching fire after fall of lightning from the heaven.

The Fire Altar was originally a simple chamber made of earth but in the Agni-cayana, which is a later development, altars were made of bricks arranged in a particular manner and given particular shapes. The *Nāciketa citi* is referred to in a text now found in the *Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa,* partly copied in the *Kaṭhopaniṣad.* Another well-known altar was the *Śyena citi* in the form of a hawk, needed in the Śyena Yāga which was a ceremony for destroying an enemy (abhicāra). In Śabarasvāmin's commentary on the Mīmāṁsā Sūtras of Jaimini, however, Śyena Yāga was not considered as *dharma,* by interpreting the word *artha* in the second sūtra in a special manner.

We may now pass on to the next deity in the family collections of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā,* INDRA. Indra hymns

are the largest in number for any single deity. That shows his great popularity. The reason for this will appear in the sequel. Indra carries in his arm the *vajra,* the thunder-weapon and he has been called the *vajrin.* This suggested to Max Müller and other students of Vedic mythology that he was the Thunder-god. That was also the view of Yāska. But comparative and analytical study of some other sources of information reveal the fact that he was a god of strength and war and that was his original character. In the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* Indra is again and again described as destroyer of Vṛtra (*Vṛtra-han*). The word *vṛtrā* has been very frequently used in the Saṁhitā for 'enemy'. When it was used for a particular person, it was probably in the sense of "the Enemy *par excellence*". In the Avesta Vereθraγna is clearly the god of victory. In the Hittite documents we come accross a god INARAS, who is a god of war. It is not possible to believe with Sturtevant that the Hittite language represents a stage in many respects earlier than Indo-European. But its Indo-European affinities cannot be doubted. There are non-Indo-European elements also in Hittite. The best explanation that has been offered so far for the Indo-European and non-Indo-European elements in Hittite is that of Luckenbill who said that this was due to the fusion of two distinct peoples. We are, therefore, entitled to take cognisance of the Hittite parallel. Then there is the name of a deity, a goddess Andarste or Andresta (=इन्द्रेष्टा), worshipped by the ancient Celts as evidenced by Dio Cassius. Several etymologies have been offered of the name Indra. But the one that appears to suit the facts best is that of Hermann Jacobi, who connected it with Greek *aner*='man'. The Greek word shows the glide *d* in the genitive form *androw* and in derivatives like

andreia ('courage') which comes very close to Vedic 'indriya' ('strength'). Indra was definitely the most manly, of the gods :

> यो जात एव प्रथमो मनस्वान् देवो देवान् क्रतुना पर्यभूषत् ।
> यस्य शुष्माद्रोदसी अभ्यसेतां नृम्णस्य मह्ना स जनास इन्द्रः (II.121)
> यस्मान्न ऋते विजयन्ते जनासो यं युध्यमाना अवसे हवन्ते ।
> यो विश्वस्य प्रतिमानं बभूव यो अच्युतच्युत् स जनास इन्द्रः ॥

Indra was the lord of Śacī, might, later understood as the husband of Śacī.

As the god of strength Indra became the great killer of demons. Originally Rudra, Maruts, Apāṁ Napāt and Trita Āptya were connected with rains and thunder. A myth grew around these phenomena. It was believed that a demon stole away the precious waters figuratively concieved as cow and kept them concealed in a rocky enclosure high up in the skies and a god had to kill the demon, break open the enclosure and release the bellowing cows. Who could be that god other than the god of strength and the great slayer of demons, Indra ? Indra thus acquired the character of the god of rains and and thunder and dispossessed Rudra and others of this character. We have an excellent parallel in Greek mythology. Poseidon was originally the god of thunder in Greece. But Zeus, the sky-god, became the thunderer also and Poseidon became the god of the Sea, retaining however, the Trident, the symbol of thunder. Rudra in India also retained his thunder symbol, the Triśūla. Like Poseidon Apāṁ Napāt, the Son of the Waters, fell from the heavenly ocean to the terrestrial sea as Vaḍavāgni.

Indra was originally as a god of strength and war, essentially a god of the fighters and found great favour

with Kings who had to be victorious in wars. It is significant that *dāna-stuties* of royal patrons appear mostly at the end of Indra hymns. He was the supreme god in the physical plane. With the acquisition of the character of a Thunder god he gained in mass appeal, because all members of the community needed rains for their crops and for their cattle.

As god of rains he became the fructifier of the soil. इन्द्र अहल्यायै जारः meant that he made even barren land impervious to the operation of the plough, bear crops. As a god of fertility he became like Dionysus in Greece associated with erotic-mystic worship among women like the Maenads of Greece. This is the meaning of Rv. S. VIII. 91.3. कुवित् पतिद्विषो यतीरिन्द्रे संगमामहै, verse 4 reminds us of and is the source of the allegony of the Gopis. The beautification of Apālā referred to in the last verse reminds us of Kubjā favoured by Kṛṣṇa.

For all his popularity Indra could not escape the ravages of time and he gradually declined in importance. This decline is reflected in Rv. S. X. 86, the famous *Vṛsākapi Sūkta,* about which I shall speak later when I speak about the solar deities. He remained the god of gods in theory but the Purāṇas and classical literature again and again write about his defeats at the hands of demons and the necessity he felt for human assistance in fighting his demon adversaries.

Skipping over the Viśva devas whose number and character were not definite, let, us come to the Solar deities. The Vedic texts know of a number of Solar gods. There is Savitṛ, the propoller, Sūrya the Bright Orb, Pūṣan, the protector of the cattle, Mitra, the friendly rising sun, Aryaman, the noble one and Viṣṇu, the moving

Sun. Each had a distinct character of his own. It is only Viṣṇu among them, who has survived as a great god up to the present day. Savitṛ, Sūrya, Pūṣan, Mitra etc. are only synonyms for the Sun in later usage.

Viṣṇu's motion is indicated in the texts by his three treads which probably mean going up, moving forward and going down. This has been later changed into the story of Trivikrama Viṣṇu and Vāmana. That the original of the Purānic Viṣṇu was a Solar God is indicated by the solar symbols in the four hands, Śaṅkha, Cakra, Gadā and Padma. We have traces of the later conception of Goloka or Vaikuṇṭha in the Viṣṇu hymns of the Ṛgveda-saṁhitā. His highest tread, Viṣṇupada is full of honey, where the pious have their enjoyment after death.

Mitra, Varuṇa and a number of other gods have been called Ādityas. Mitra is constantly associated with Varuṇa. They inseparately go togather. There are texts (like Rv. S. I. 115.5) that indicate that Mitra is connected with the morning and Varuṇa with the night. It is on the basis of such texts that Oldenburg with his theory that the Adityas were Planets supposed that Varuṇa was the Moon. Mitra and Varuṇa go together, but the sun and the moon do not. Taking my clue from an ancient Egyptian practice of giving the sun-god different names in different points of time, I framed the hypothesis that Mitra was the Morning or Day Sun and Varuṇa the Evening or Night Sun. These are the two aspects of the self-same deity. Mitra and Varuṇa watch over the doings of man with unwinking eyes. A passage in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa says that the sun has got two sides, one bright and the other dark and that it constantly moves to and fro from the eastern sky to the western and from the western to the eastern horizon, keeping either the bright

side or the dark side turned towards us. This explains how Mitra and Varuṇa together keep watch over human actions. Varuṇa is, among these two partners, the more active person in watching over our actions, because it is at night that people get the best opportunity for sinful behaviour. Mitra as Mithra in Iran and later in Europe was represented in Roman works of art as the rising sun. Varuṇa as the setting sun would naturally be associated with the western direction (later known as वारुणी दिक्). It is probably in the west that the Aryans first came to know of the sea. Varuṇa through his association with the western sea where he appeared to set became associated with the sea and with waters. This association took place within the Vedic period itself and there are Vedic texts showing this connexion. The Śunaḥśepa story reminds us of the real or symbolic sacrifice of the first-born in Gaṅgā-Sāgara that was current in Bengal.

It is because Varuṇa was especially associated with morals and correct conduct and was quick in retribution for wrong actions that in the developed ritual *prāyaścitta* ceremonies were performed in his honour. He may have practically disappeared from the Puranic pantheon, but he maintained himself throughout the Vedic period.

Viṣṇu was, however, luckier. In the Brāhmaṇas he is found associated with the sacrifice and in later times he acquired even foreign votaries like Heliodorus. The Kṛṣṇa cult gave him a new base of life. Kṛṣṇa, son of Devakī, who was taught by Ghora Āṅgirasa the doctrine of looking upon life as a continuous sacrifice, appears to have taught it to others after his own thirst in life was quenched. When he was deified, he was indentified

with Viṣṇu the god of sacrifices according to the Brāhmaṇas. Incidentally, the sun-god appears to have been the tribal god of the Yādavas as we learn from the Govardhana story. Kṛṣṇa was an important figure in this tribe.

I may here come to the meaning of the Vṛṣākapi hymn. It has been very variously interpreted, the best known in India being the astronomical interpretation of Bal Gangadhar Tilak. That interpretation is vitiated by number of baseless assumptions and self-contradictions. There are clear indication in the hymn that Vṛṣākapi is just the Sun (lit. the strong tawny coloured one). We have here a complaint voiced by Indrāṇi that Indra the old popular god was no longer receiving popular worship which had gravitated towards Vṛṣākapi, the Sun-god. Indra replies that he is satisfied with Vṛṣākapi and his worship pleased all the gods. Indrāṇī tries different measures to alienate the sympathy of Indra but fails and has ultimately to accept Vṛṣākapi as a friend. This appears to be the straight forward meaning of the hymn. Bengalis will recall the story of Behulā and Nakhindar, in which the merchant Chānd, an exclusive devotee of Śiva is forced by him to pay homage to the Snake-goddess Manasā. Indra who could satisfy warriors in the heroic age and the common man interested in worldly prosperity could not satisfy spiritually advanced men who turned towards the Sun-god for their spiritual satisfaction. We have a parallel in the history of Mithraism.

Some European scholars have seen in the Ādityas with their especial connexion with human morals the influence of Yahve or of the Babylonian Planet-gods, including Śams, the sun-god. This is under a diffusionist theory which does not apply in the present case. Powers

of light are naturally adversaries of darkness. I have already said that it is in darkness that sin prospers. Gods of light must, therefore, be naturally adversaries of Sin, negatively, and friends of virtue positively. We find among the hairy Ainus of Japan, absolutely unconnected with ancient Israel or Babylonia a similar connexion between the sun-god and righteousness. This must needs be an independent evolution in each case due to natural psychological development.

I have to speak here about two other deities of light, the Aśvins and Uṣas. The Aśvins are the first harbingers of the morning light, Uṣas of the glow that comes after it. They are personifications of those natural phenomena and were gratefully worshipped for announcing the disappearance of the night with all its terrors. The Aśvins appear to have been concieved as two outriders heralding the advent of the sun. A relief on the outer wall of a Buddhist cave at Bhaja near Poona of the second century B.C., showing a dignitary accompanied by two females driving in a chariot and crushing under its wheels certain uncouth figures and having two riders on the two sides, probably represents the Sun, Chāyā and Prabhā and the demonesses of darkness overpowered by the light of the Sun. If this is the conception of the Aśvins, it is inevitable that they should be taken as great succourers. So is their sister Uṣas. She was worshipped not because she was beautiful, which of course she was, but because she was useful. If *arthakrivyā-kāritva* (fulfilling of a purpose) can be the *lakṣaṇa* (definition) of *satya* (truth), it can also be the basis of personification and worship. This is the basis of worship of all gods and goddesses in the Vedas, whether powers of nature or functions or qualíties.

I may here speak about an important deity, Hiraṇyagarbha, (the Golden Embryo) praised in Ṛv. S. X. 121. It has been assumed that Hiraṇyagarbha is Prajāpati, that is, the supreme deity. But why ? The last verse in this hymn as found in the Śākala text is addressed to Prajāpati. But Śākalya did not know about that verse and has not given its *pada* analysis. It must have found its way into the canon after Śākalya wrote his famous Padā-pāṭha for the preservation from corruption of the Ṣaṁhitā text. Verses 1 to 9 are the original verses and they appear to be addressed to the Sun-god, concieved as supreme. Ahura Mazda was the name of the supreme god in ancient Iran but the Śakas used the word *Urmayazda* for the sun-god. In the Vṛṣākapi hymn the sun has been called Kapi=Tawny coloured and in a whole Kāṇḍa of the Atharvaveda he has been called Rohita. It is easy to believe that in Ṛv. S. X. 121, the Golden Egg is none but the Sun-god Rudra-Siva.

There are many other deities in Vedic literature but I omit them, because they do not lend themselves to historical treatment and their omission does not affect the general picture. Goddesses are very few in number and their personalities are generally not so sharp as those of the gods. Important exceptions are Aditi, (literally Bondlessness), the mother of the Ādityas, later of all gods and Uṣas mentioned already. Pṛthivī the Earth has come in for worship either in association with Dyaus or singly. There is also the interesting goddess of the woods, Araṇyānī. An important deity, Bṛhaspati or Brahmanaspati is reserved for my third lecture because of his bearing on the development of the idea of Brahma.



HISTORY OF VEDIC RELIGION

III

इष्टदेवीं नमस्कृत्य परब्रह्मस्वरूपिणीम् ।
आत्मदर्शनस्वारस्यं वेदस्य दर्शयाम्यहम् ।।

I have passed in review the main deities in the Vedic pantheon. Besides these gods and goddesses, the Aryans recognised the existence of the highest god who is called (*Paramā devatā*), who is called by various names, one of them being *Pita naḥ* (our Father). In the Brāhmaṇas he appears very frequently as Prajāpati (the Lord of Creatures). Gods and Demons, in fact all, are described as His issue. He is often called *anirukta*, undefinable, which shows a great advancement in philosophical reflection. Even here we do not come to *monotheism*, because Prajāpati is not the only god. The famous verse

इन्द्रं॑ मि॒त्रं वरु॑णम॒ग्निमा॑हु॒ रथो॑ दि॒व्यः स सु॑प॒र्णो ग॒रुत्मा॑न्
एकं॒ सद्विप्रा॑ बहु॒धा व॑दन्त्य॒ग्निं य॒मं मा॑त॒रिश्वा॑नमाहुः ।।

of the Asya-vāmīya Hymn (Rv. S. I. 164.46) shows a still later development, that of pantheism about which I shall speak in the sequel. Even here there is no monotheism, because Indra, Mitra etc. though described as identical with *One Existence* (एकं॒ सत्) are mutually distinct- To about the period of this hymn belongs the still more famous Puruṣa Sūkta, in which we are told

पुरु॑ष ए॒वेदं सर्वं॒ यद्भू॒तं यच्च॒ भव्य॑म् (Rv. S. X. 90.2)

"Puruṣa is all this, whatever is past and what is still to be."

A variety of deities with the Highest God at their head was the Higher Existence that the Vedic Aryan believed in. Let us see what he did for its relation. The Vedic worship consisted in the performance of sacrifices to these gods and goddesses. Prajapati does not appear to have been an object of worship in the earlier stage but sacrifices were also performed in His honour in later times.

These sacrifices seem to have been originally a very simple affair, more or less of the same type as described by Herodotus for the Persians. Only one priest was needed, who was called by various names Hótṛ, Brahmán, Vìpra, Puróhita &c. In course of time the sacrifice became more and more complex and different types of it were developed. The number of priests also naturally increased a division of labour was established. There was the *Adhvaryu*, the priest who had to do most of the work, the *Hotṛ*, the invoker who had also to read the *śastra* prayers in bigger sacrifiees, the *Udgātṛ* who had to sing the *sāmaus* where needed and the *stotra* prayers in the bigger sacrifices and the *Brahman*, the superintending priest. There were many other assistants. It is for the three classes of preists, Hotṛ, Udgātṛ and Adhvarya, that the Mantra and Brāhmaṇa portions of the *Ṛgveda*, Yajurveda and Sāmaveda were gathered together. The Brahman had to be scholar of all the three Vedas and know their rituals.

Of these sacrifices the daily Agnihotra was the simplest sacrifice. It made for a really personal relationship with Agni-devatā. It took very little time. Other ceremonies were further classed into *nitya* and *kāmya* types. *Nitya* ceremonies were those which one must perform and *kāmya*, those which may be performed for the attainment of certain desires. *Naimithika* or occasional cere-

monies are found in the Gṛhya or Domestic Sacraments. The Darśapūrṇamāsa sacrifices to be performed every New Moon and Full Moon though described as to be performed by a person desiring Heaven had necessarily to be performed by every householder who had established the Śrauta fires and performed the Agnihotra. There were seasonal sacrifices like the Varuṇa-praghāsa and annual sacrifices like the Jyotiṣṭoma. From the point of view of the articles offered the sacrifices were classed into different types, Homa (like the Agnihotra) in which only milk or ghee was offered, Iṣṭi (like the Darśa pūrṇamāsa) in which cereals are also offered, Paśu (like the Nirūḍha paśubandha) in which meat was also offered and Soma (like the Jyotiṣṭoma) in which was offered besides the articles mentioned before, the fermented juice of the Soma creeper mixed with water. This Soma must have been a common offering when the Aryans were confined to the north-west. But the difficulty of obtaining the material as the Aryans penetrated more and more into this vast land led to its limited use. Ultimately substitutes like *pūtikā* had to be used.

Soma sacrifices, later considered as the most important ones, were classed into three types, *Ekāha, Ahīna, Sattra*. *Ekāha* was a sacrifice in which the Soma was pressed and offered during one day or one day and night. In *Ahīṇa* the Soma offering continued for several days. e.g. six or even twelve. There were, however, a number of preliminary sacrifices to be performed for several days in the Ekāha or the Ahīna, before the days of the Soma-offering. In the Jyotiṣṭoma four such days are taken up in the beginning. The late Aśvamedha sacrifice was also an Ekāha ceremony but it took full one year for its performance.

It is not my intention here to give an elaborate description of the Vedic sacrifice or its history. I have introduced the topic only for showing the early Vedic and the middle Vedic way for the realisation of Higher Existence. In each ceremony there was an element of *Havis-śeṣa Bhakṣaṇa,* partaking of the remnant of the sacrifice. It is through this that the worshipper entered into a temporary communion with the worshipped. The great Ramendrasundara Trivedi has shown this effectively in his *yajna-kathā*. Seṣa (the Remnant) has even become a deity in the Veda. Raptures of this communion are sung in connexion with the Soma offering, eg.

अपाम सोमममृता अभूम
अगन्म ज्योतिरविदाम देवान् । (Rv. S. VIII. 48. 3)

I may quote here some thrilling verses from the Pavamāna Maṇḍala of the Ṛgveda-saṁhita :

यत्र ज्योतिरजस्रं यस्मिन् लोके स्वर्हितम् ।
तस्मिन् मां धेहि पवमानामृते लोके अक्षित इन्द्रायेन्दो परिस्रव ॥
यत्र राजा वैवस्वतो यत्रावरोधनं दिवः ।
यत्रामूर्यह्वतीरापस्तत्र माममृतं कृधीन्द्रायेन्दो परिस्रव ॥
यत्र कामा निकामाश्च यत्र ब्रध्नस्य विष्टपम् ।
स्वधा च यत्र तृप्तिश्च तत्र माममृतं कृधीन्द्रायेन्दो परि स्रव ॥
यत्रानन्दाश्च मोदाश्च मुदः प्रमुद आसते ।
कामस्य यत्राप्ताः कामास्तत्र माममृतं कृधीन्द्रायेन्दो परि स्रव ॥
(IX. 113. 7-11)

Many moderners consider the Vedic sacrifice, in fact all ceremonies, as mere *abracadabra,* with no spiritual contents about them. Passages like above give the lie to such views. I have seen Vedic sacrifices performed in Vārāṇasī, Mahārāṣṭra and Drāviḍadeśa and I have noticed the spirit of holiness in the performers of these

rites. Where can we escape rituals? The human mind needs such supports for concentration for a higher purpose.

The sacrifice had two elements, the element of speech and the element of action. The element of speech was supplied by the mantras uttered in various forms. Mantras were called *bráhman* from ∠bṛh (∠ bṛgh) 'to extend' 'to magnify'. These mantras were thought to be very effective, originally in securing the favour of the gods, later as co-equal with the gods and in still later times, as capable of achieving results by themselves. The presiding deity of the efficacious power of the mantras was Bráhmaṇas-páti or Bṛhas-pati, 'the Lord of Prayers'. This deity was considered as capable of achieving every thing. He was called गणानां गणपतिः because the mantras were uttered in the later ritual by a number of priests. As mantras led to success, their presiding deity, Gaṇapati, later became the Purāṇic god of suceess, the elephant headed Gsṇapati, the elephant's shape and the carrier, Rat, being the symbols of plenty and prosperity.

Some European scholars have wrongly assumed that the word *Bráhman* originally meant 'magic! This strange view started from the acceptance of the wrong claim made in the later literature of the Atharva-veda that this Veda was the Veda of the Brahmán priest. The Atharvaveda had nothing to do with the Vedic Śrauta ritual. In fact it was recognised as a Veda in very late times. Patañjali, the author of the *Māhabhāṣya* or Pāṇini's grammar, however, recognised the Atharvaveda as Veda *par excellence.* It is significant that for him the *Saṁhitā* of this Veda started with the verse शं नो देवीरभिष्टये &c, which is the first verse in the Paippalāda recension

of the *Atharvaveda-saṁhitā*, as opposed to the Śaunaka recension. Patañjali belonged to Eastern India. The discoveries of Sri Durga Mohan Bhattacharya have shown that this was a recension of Eastern India and not of Kashmir as supported by Western scholars. It may be borne in mind in this connexion that Kashmir and Eastern India (particularly) have shown in antiquity great affinities.

At this stage I have to refer to the Vedic attitude towards Truth. I have told you in my first lecture that Truth was a cardinal virtue with the Aryans. The Vedas say that the Earth is propped up by Truth (सत्येनोत्तभिता भूमिः Rv. S. X. 85.1, Av. S. XIV. 1.1). The *Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa* says with reference to the alternative mantra for *Vrata-grahaṇa,* इदमहमनृतात् सत्यमुपैमि in the Darśa-pūrṇamāsa sacrifice, that gods are of the nature of truth and men of the nature of falsehood and that one has to assume that quality of the gods when performing the worship of the gods. This reminds us, of our later idea देवो भूत्वा देवान् यजेत, following which we perform अङ्गन्यास etc. in the Tantric ritual. There is, in fact, no antagonism between Nigama and Āgama, the Vedas and the Tantras, as commonly supposed.

We may here try to understand the history of the word *Ṛta*. *Ṛta* originally did not mean *Satya*. These two words have often been distinguished in the earlier Vedic texts. *Ṛta* is an Aryan word, coming down from the Indo-Iranian times, as is evidenced by the Avestan word *aśa* and Ancient Persian *arta*. Aśa means in the Avesta 'righteousness'. There are passages in the Vedas where *ṛta* appears to bear the meaning of 'Cosmic Order'. It is generally believed by Vedic scholars that this was

the original meaning of the word in the Vedas. I have, however, my doubts My own reading of the texts reveals that the word meant 'the sacred rite'. There is Avestic evidence also in favour of this meaning. The sacrifice was believed to be able to achieve every thing. It was equated with the Sun-god Viṣṇu and thus with Puruṣa in the famous Puruṣa Sṇkta, where everything is described as coming out of the sacrificed Puruṣa number two. Mantras form the most important element of the sacrifice. The *Tāṇdya-mahābrāhmaṇa* speaks of the creation by Prajāpati of different things by the pronunciation of the different words of the mantra एते असृग्रमिन्दवः &c (Rv. S. IX. 63.4., Sv. S.). It is thus that ऋत as 'rite' or 'the ritualistic order', came at times to signify 'the cosmic order'. We may in this connexion compare the meanings of the word *dharma* in the Mīmāṁsā literature and the literature of the Buddhists.

Now Satya or truth being of the nature of gods, it became a *sine qua non* of *ṛta,* i.e. the worship of the gods. Consequently *asatya* became the great enemy of *ṛta* and thus *an-ṛta par excellence.* Speaking an untruth was just a sin, like any other sin but telling a lie while performing a sacrifice, i.e. the worship of the gods distroyed the rite itself. It is in this way that *a-satya* and *an-ṛta* later came to be taken as synonymons and thus *ṛta* and *satya* also became synonyms.

What has been just said is a demonstration of the great value attached by the Vedic Aryans to the great virtue of Truth. A people thus attached to Truth must needs understand the value of direct realisation of truth. This came about when the cultural commingling of the Aryans and the pre-Aryans took place. I have already

said that this took place after the Aryans came to the Kurukṣetra country and moved further east. I have several times shown that

किं ते कृण्वन्ति कीकटेषु गावो
नाशिरं दुह्रे न तपन्ति घर्मम्
आ नो भर प्रमगन्दस्य वेदो
नैचाशाखं मघवन्रन्धया नः

in Ṛv. S. III. 53.14 gives us the evidence of Aryan and pre-Aryan contacts in Kīkaṭa i.e. Kurukṣetra (*sic*).

I have also pointed out that the pre-Aryans of the Indus basin have left us the evidence of yogic practices. There are indications of ascetic practices also. Later Vedic texts like the Keśin hymn in the Tenth Maṇḍala of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* (X. 136) speaking about the hermit wearing coloured robes and capable of moving freely in space through miraculous powers obtained through yoga show that by them the Aryans had imbibed *yoga* and *tapas* from their elder brothers the pre-Aryans of India. I have suggested elsewhere that the Sāṁkhya philosophy of Kapila has really emanated from these early Kapilas, i.e. the tawny-robed ascetics of remote antiquity from whom also came in all likelihood the belief in the transmigration of Soul.

When the Aryans finally settled down in the land and ceased constantly fighting one andther or fighting the non-Aryans, they got the leisure and the inclination for the pursuit of philosophical thought and discussions. It was probably in this period of thought fermentation partly comparable to the Age of the Sophists, in Greece, that the Upaniṣads arose. The patrons of these discussions and sometimes the leaders, appear to have been

the Kings and not the warriors, as is commonly supposed. The word *Kṣatriya* meant a King from *Kṣatra*= 'dominion'. If formerly sacrifices received royal patronge, this age show the shift of importance to knowledge. The old votaries of the sacrifice, the priests refused to be left behind and they too enthusiastically turned towards the new learning. If the first Kāṇḍa of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṃa* shows Yājñavalkya as a great ritualist, its last Kāṇḍa shows him as a great exponent of the Brahma lore.

In this age, people began thinking about an ultimate cause. The Vedic hymns speak about gods disposing the world in the shape in which it is found. The Nāsadīya Sūkta of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* (X. 129) essayed the tackling of the problem of creation but ended with a courageous recognition of the limits of human understanding. It made one great advance in thought when it recognised the truth that nothing can come out of nothing. This has coloured Indian thought in all subsequent ages. The Aryans had already begun to recognise a Highest Being Prajāpatī, whom they often called *anirukta,* inscrutable. In the present age the old ritualistic term *Brahman* (Mantra) was transferred to the First cause that the philosophers posited, because of its neuter gender and the consequent capability of suggesting that which is beyond speech and thought (यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह)

During the great period of Sacrifices, the gods had lost their status. They themselves were described in the *Brāhamaṇas* as performing sacrifices. The sacrifice was a handiwork of man. Man thus rose in importance. In the New Age man had through Yogic meditation begun

to have direct realisation of everything and his importance was further enhanced by his identification with the Absolute by the Upaniṣadic mahāvākyas अयमात्मा ब्रह्म, तत्त्वमसि, सोऽहमस्मि et. cetera. The Higher Existence that man has to realise is higher than anything that had been conceived of so far that is not something far away from him. It is the innermost core of his self which he has to reach through *śravaṇa, manana and nididhyāsana* (अरेऽयमात्मा द्रष्टव्यः श्रोतव्यो मन्तव्यो निदिध्यासितव्यः) and through the grace of a Guru (आचार्यवान् पुरुषो वेद). It is thus in Vedānta that the religious ideas of the Vedas find their consummation. I may, therefore, be permitted to stop here.



SECTION II

Historical and Geographical Setting of the Early Vedic Literature

II.1

THE BOGHAZKOI INSCRIPTIONS AND THEIR VALUE FOR VEDIC CHRONOLOGY

This paper proposes to discuss some of the issues raised by Prof. Winternitz in his Lectures on the Age of the Veda, published in Calcutta Review (Nov., 1923)

Professor Winternitz is no narrow specialist. He is thoroughly acquainted with the whole range of early Indian literature (Vedic, Classical Sanskrit, Pali and Prakrit) and his views can claim the respect of students of Vedic chronology. He seems to have lost faith in astronomical arguments and rightly bases his conclusions on historical and geographical grounds. He has worked on very sound lines and he ought to convince the worst sceptic. Still he seems to have not *sufficiently* emphasised the vast difference in language, metre and thought between the earliest and the latest hymns of the Ṛgveda though he has said in italics, "*Centuries must have passed between the composition of the earliest hymns and the completion of the Saṁhitā of the Ṛgveda.*" He has also exaggerated the agreement of the language of the Ancient Persian Inscriptions with that of the Vedas. The resemblance is rather with classical Sanskrit or even the earliest Prakrit dialects. The language of the Avesta shows us forms considerably earlier than those of the Ancient Persian Inscriptions. Hence it would not be difficult to push back the beginning of the Ṛgvedic literature to 3000 B. C.

Professor Winternitz thinks that no conclusion about Vedic chronology can be drawn from the mention of four Indian deities in the two Boghaz Köi treaties. But I shall try to show that some help may be derived from this source. It is probable that between 2000 B. C. and 1500 B. C. or a little later there were several arrivals of Aryan peoples in Asia Minor and all doubt is removed by the occurrence of these four names of undoubtedly Aryan gods in the Hittite treaties. This fact has some importance from the Indian point of view. We find in two Vedic passages of the Brāhmaṇa period indications of a recent arrival in India of other Aryan peoples on a large scale. It is possible to think that between 2000 B. C. and 1400 B. C. there were several stampedes of Aryans from Central Asia, that some of these peoples found their way to Asia Minor and formed the ancestors of the Kassites, the princes of Mittani and the people whose deities are mentioned in the two treaties between Shubbiluliuma and Mattiuaza and that some entered India and became known as Vrātyas.[1]

We find the Vrātyas first described in the Tāṇḍya-Mahābrāhmaṇa and in the fifteenth book of the Atharva Veda Saṁhitā (Śaunakīyā) which in language and form resembles a Brāhmaṇa text and probably belongs to the beginning of the Brāhmaṇa period. The Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa has given a pretty full description of the dress and way of life of these Vrātyas. From this we cannot

1. Some of these Aryans of Central Asia may also have entered Europe and become the ancestors of the western *satemites*, the Baltic and the Slavic people. This supposition would give an easy explanation of their close resemblance with the Indo-Iranians.

conclude that these Vrātyas followed a religion different from that of the Vedic Indians. Their nomad existence precluded the possibility of performance of sacrifices but they must have worshipped much the same gods, otherwise the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa would have noted the difference. Even the earliest hymns of the Ṛgveda show us a highly developed religion, and the religion of the Vedic Indians must have grown and developed in Central Asia prior to their entrance into India. Aryan religion is thus a thing of Central Asiatic growth. It must have lingered there for many centuries even after the ancestors of Indians and Iranians had left for their later homes. We find therefore in the Pahlavi Aryādgār-i-Zarirān and in Firdausi that the Turanian king Arjāsp declared war against Viṣtāsp for leaving their common ancestral religion and coming under the influence of Zarathuṣtra's innovations. This tradition about the unity of Iranian and Turanian religions finds an unexpected confirmation from two Avestan texts, Farvardin Yasht 100 and Zamyād Yasht 86 where king Viśtāsp is said to have freed the Zoroastrian religion from the influence of the *Hunns* (Turanians). Shams-ul-Ulma Dr. Modi therefore rightly says, "The early Huns, *i.e.*, the Huns of the times of the Avesta seem to have professed well-nigh the same religion as that of the early Iranians."[2] The religion of the Zoroastrian Iranians was much the same as in India, except in those particulars which were due to the reformation of Zarathuṣtra and those that can be accounted for by natural development. There would thus be nothing strange in our finding among the Vrātyas[3] of India and

2. Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 76.

3. It is usual in our country to suppose that the Vrātyas were

the Aryans of Asia Minor much the same religion as in Vedic India.

Now the most important statements in the Tāṇḍya-mahābrāhmaṇa about the Vrātyas are हीना वा एते हीयन्ते ये व्रात्यां (व्रत्यां in the text, a printing mistake for व्रात्यां) प्रवसन्ति न हि ब्रह्मचर्यं चरन्ति न कृषिं न वणिज्जाम्—१७॥१।२।६॥ and गरगिरो वा एते ये ब्रह्माद्यं जन्यमन्नमदन्ति अदुरुक्तवाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुरदण्ड्यं दण्डेन घ्नन्तश्चरन्ति अदीक्षिता दीक्षितवाचं वदन्ति—॥१७।१॥९॥. From the former we learn that the Vrātyas lived a nomad life; from the latter, that they felt no scruples in snatching away the wealth of Brahmins and women, that they were rather militantly inclined, not hesitating to harm inoffensive people, and also that they gave themselves religious airs. "अदुरुक्तवाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुः।" is understood to refer to the Prakritism in their speech but the context forces me to understand the passage quite differently. The previous expression ब्रह्माद्यं जन्यम् (from जनि=woman) अन्नम् अदन्ति "they devour the food of Brahmins and women" and the following one अदण्ड्यं दण्डेन घ्नन्तश्चरन्ति "they walk about belabouring persons least deserving of the rod" make us suspect that अदुरुक्तवाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुः refers to similar rowdyism. Now *durukta* certainly means *nindā* (vilification) in इयं दुरुक्तात्परिबाधमाना वर्णं पवित्रं पुनतीम आगात्। प्राणापानाभ्यां बलमाहरन्ती स्वसा देवी सुभगा मेखलेयम्॥ (Mantra Brāhmaṇa of the Sāma Veda, I. 6. 27), a verse utilised by followers of the Sāma and other Vedas in the ceremony of *mekhalābhāraṇa* (putting on of the sacred

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Indian Aryans who had lapsed into barbarism by living among non-Aryans or had dissented from the Vedic creed. I think the Vedic passages describing them do not warrant such views. I may mention here only the different dress of the Vrātyas and their having a peculiar sort of cars in which they must have entered India.

girdle) in connection with Upanayana.[4] The girdle saves the Brahmacārin from the reproach of breaking the vow.[5] *Durukta* here clearly means 'reproach' and it has been so taken by Dr. H. Stönner ("vor bōser Rede)" in his translation of the Mantra Brāhmaṇa (I Pr.) and by Professor Oldenberg ("evil words") in his translation of the Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra. Taking a clue from this I interpret अदुरुक्तवाक्य दुरुक्तमाहुः in the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa to mean 'they say (*i. e.*, consider) what is not a term of reproach to be a sling (directed against them)'—that is, they take offence at shadows. This is exactly in keeping with their aggressive character, clearly indicated in the other expressins, which scruples not to rob or oppress the poor. ब्रह्माद्यं जन्यमन्नमदन्त अदुरुक्तवाक्यं दुरुक्तमाहुरदण्ड्यं दण्डेन घ्नन्त श्चरन्ति thus shows that the Vrātyas were a rather rough sort of people.

Along with this fierce character the Vrātyas must have possessed religious (or magical ?) propensities. This is shown by the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa expression अदीक्षिता दीक्षितवाचं वदन्ति and the whole fifteenth book of the Atharva Veda. '*Dīkṣita*' would mean one who had performed the *Soma* sacrifice. Such a person would be justly proud of his religious merits. But the Vrātyas talked big though they did not perform any Vedic sacrifice. This

4. Gobhila Gṛhya Sūtra, II. 10. 37, Khādira Gṛhya Sūtra, II. 4. 19, Jaiminīya Gṛhya, XII. 6. and Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra, II. 2. 8. In the last book it has the reading दुरुक्तं for दुरुक्तात् and आदधाना for आहरन्ती both later improvements. Not having the Vedic Concordance before me I cannot say if the verse is utilised by the other Gṛhya Sūtras or not.

5. For a somewhat similar idea I may refer my readers to Deuteronomy, XXII. 15.19.

was an unpardonable sin in the eyes of these ritual-loving writers of Brāhmaṇas. The Atharva Veda on the other hand being more liberal grew enthusiastic over the religious character (possession of magical or *Yogic* powers ?) of this very Vrātya and did not scruple to make a god of him. I believe that the Vrātya of the Atharva Veda is not the convert to the Vedic religion who has performed the conversion sacrifice (the Vrātyastoma) mentioned in the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa and in the Sūtras as Professors Macdonell and Keith have supposed.[6] I think he is there still a Vrātya and fresh from his northern home. This is made probable by the direction in the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa that the Vrātya must give away all his former belongings as *dakṣiṇā*. The sūtras *e. g.*, Lāṭyāyana Śrauta, VIII. 6. 28) direct that they are to be given to those Vrātyas who may be still pursuing their old life[7] for which injunction the Tāndya mahābrāhmaṇa statement एतद्वै व्रात्यधनं यस्मा एतद्ददति तस्मिन्नेव मृजाना यन्ति" (XVII. 1. 16) gives some sort of support. The Vrātya is thus to cut off all connection with his past and to begin life anew. The mention in Atharva Veda, XV. 2. 5-7 of the turban, the goad (lance ?), the open waggon

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6. Vedic Index, II, p. 334.
7. The Lātyāyana Sūtra adds 'or to pseudo-Brahmins of Magadha's ब्रह्मबन्धवे वा मागधदेशीयाय This is very interesting as it shows that the Vedic culture had not yet spread in Magadha, and a Brāhmin settled there would be considered a pseudo-Brahmin. It would not be proper to conclude from the Lātyāyana statement that Buddhist heresy had begun to spread in Magadha for the simple reason that Buddha himself was not a heretic and he has uttered the highest praise for the true Brahmin—Brahmanical culture had fully permeated Magadha by his time.

and the other characteristic marks of the Vratya shows that he had not yet been converted into the Vedic way of life. He was thus a new-comer. He must have come from the north. This is made probable by the fact that in the Vājasaneyi Saṁhītā XXX. 8 and the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa III. 4.5 he is dedicated to the Gandharvas and Apsarases, गन्धर्वाप्सरोभ्यो व्रात्यम्, in the Puruṣamedha ('human sacrifice'); the north is certainly the direction of Gandharvas and Apsarases. As these Vrātyas came from the north, were religiously inclined and probably had mystic powers, they possessed a particularly sacred character in the eyes of those Indians who are responsible for the Atharva Veda. The Atharva Veda is a particularly liberal book and contains in it terms and tenets of other lands.[8] We find similarly in the later Tāntric literature which of something like a continuation of the Atharvavedic writings complimentary references to the practices in the *Cīna deśa* and the *Mahācīnadeśa* (Tibet and China).

From all this I conclude that the Vrātyas were Aryans who entered India from the north in the early Brāhmaṇa period (to which are to be ascribed the fifteenth book of the Atharva Veda and the thirtieth book of the Vājasaneyi Samhitā and the corresponding passage of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa) and were very keen about their religion though they never performed any sacrifices. It was after some time that many of them were overcome by the glamour of Vedic sacrifices, or became convinced of the superiority of the Vedic way of life, and took it into their heads to enter the Vedic fold by performing the Vrātyastoma

8. See the late Mr. Tilak's articte "The Chaldean and Indian Vedas" in the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume.

sacrifice mentioned in the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa and the Sūtras. Their Indian name (*Vrātya*) shows that they came in hordes (*Vrāta*-troupe). Whether they actually invaded India is not known; they may have only sneaked their way into the land like gypsies.

I would consider the various Aryan tribes arriving in Asia Minor between 2000 B.C. and 1400 B.C. as similar "Vrātyas." They too were probably not very peaceful peoples and they were certainly particular about the gods they worshipped when they first came. They were also a very backward people from the point of view of civilisation. During the Kassite ascendancy, Babylonian culture received a set-back[9] and monumental and inscriptional activity became dead. The Mitannian princes were so prominent in Mesopotamian history only because they had thoroughly imbibed the culture of the land after centuries of life in Asia Minor. There is therefor nothing strange in King Dushratta's sending to the Phoraoh Nımmuriya (Amenhetep III) of Egypt the goddess Ishtar, of Nineveh and in his frequent invoking of Ishtar, Ammon, Tishub, Bīlit and other deities of the land in the Tell-el-Amarna Letters. Mattiuaza too in his reply treaty with the King of Khatti invokes all those gods and goddesses whom Shubbilulima has invoked. This surrender of orthodoxy is the result of a long residence in the land. Still we may think that the mystic worship of *Aten* which Amenhetep IV (later Akhenaten) tried to introduce into Egypt is due to Mitannian influences. At any rate these various Aryans when they first came must have been zealous about their religion. If they had leanings

9. **Hall's Ancient History of the Near East, 1916, p. 200.**

towards magic, these would not be noticed in Asia Minor, the land of magic.

If we can chronologically connect the various Aryan inroads in Asia Minor and the Vrātya inroads in India, Vedic chronology is put on a firm ground. Even an indefinite figure like 2000 B.C.—1400 B.C. is a great gain in Indian chronology. The beginning of the Brāhmaṇa period may be put sometime after 2000 B.C. and the Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa a little before 1400 B.C. or even before 1500 B.C. if we put the Bhārata battle in the fifteenth century B.C. The fact that most of the purāṇas put an interval of a little over a thousand years between Parikṣit's birth and the inauguration of Mahāpadma Nanda makes it probable that the Bhārata battle took place in the fifteenth century B.C.,[10] a date which would agree with the statement in the Khāravela Inscription. The Brāhmaṇas or those portions of Brāhmaṇas which mention Janamejaya III, the son of Parikṣit II or Dhṛtarāṣtra Vaicitravīrya[11] or other Mahābhāratic characters would be later than this date and those which do not make similar mentions need not be brought down to such a late date unless there should be positive ground against an early character. If we can thus place the beginning of the Brāhmaṇa period sometime after 2000 B.C. and before 1400 B.C. the earlier portions of the Yajurveda[12] and of the Atharveda will go back to a

10. Pargiter has arrived at his date by confining himself to only one set of data and taking a much too low fignre for the average of a generation.

11. I think काशीराज constitutes no difficulty.

12. Neither the Mantra nor the Brāhmaṇa portion of the Taittirīya Saṃhitā knows anything about the Vrātyas. The so-called

much earlier time—to 2000 B.C. or earlier and the beginning of Ṛg Veda will therefore have to be put before 3000 B.C.

Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa is a very late appendix to it. The Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā though compiled long after the T.S. has its earlier and later portions.

Note—In this paper I have often spoken of an 'Aryan people.' I mean by it any people speaking the Aryan language and following the Aryan religion. There is thus no connotation of 'Race' in the narrow Anthropological sense. This confession will save me from much misunderstanding.

II.2

SUDĀS AND THE BHARATAS

This paper proposes to discuss some basic historical issues raised by Dr. Ábinashchandra Das in the November number of the Calcutta Review (1923) With respect to the historical relevance of the Dr. Dasś main contention is that the Tṛtsus are non-identified with the Bharatas, I propose to show that this contention is belied by the relevant passages in the R.V. famous Dāśrājña battle. As a student of the Ṛgveda I cannot help confessing that the account is much too full and much too sanguine. The texts which tell us of this battle are highly obscure and different scholars have understood them differently. Dr. Das has never allowed his readers to suspect that there was any possibility of a different view. The interpretations he has put on the Ṛgvedic passages on the subject are not likely to be accepted by other Vedic students. To show their probable meaning one must enter into the details of text interpretation. But these will not interest the general reader. Hence, avoiding technicalities as much as possible, I shall briefly discuss only one point—the relation of king Sudās with the Bharatas—in which Dr. Das is certainly in the wrong.

Dr. Das has rejected the identity of the Tṛtsus with the Bharatas. He writes, "It is surmised by some western scholars[1] that the Tṛtsus and the Bharatas were one

1. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic, Index I. 363.

people, i.e., belonged to one clan or tribe in support of which they quote certain verses (RV. VI, 16. 4,5, 19). But Bharata, mentioned in the fourth verse had no connection with Divodāsa, mentioned in the fifth and nineteenth verses. King Bharata worshipped Agni (fire) on the bank of the Sarasvatī:, hence one name of Agni is Bhāratī, a name which was, in a later age, transferred to the goddes Sarasvatī presiding over *Vāch* or speech. Similarly, another name or epithet of Agni, as worshipped by Divodāsa was Daivodāsa (RV. VIII, 103, 2). In RV. VI, 16 the Ṛṣi Bharadvāja has simply referred to the fact that king Bharata and king Divodāsa both became famous in Ṛgvedic times by having been 'energetic supporters of the Fire ritual'. The Tṛtsus and the Bharatas should not, therefore, be regarded as one tribe". This is perhaps the only discussion in the whole paper—all else is dogmatic assertion. But the discussion has not established his point.

The fourth and fifth verses of this hymn (RV. VI. 16) when read together make it probable that Divodāsa was a Bharata and all doubt is removed by the nineteenth verse, which is, अग्निरगामि भारतो वृत्रहा पुरुचेतनः दिवोदासस्य सत्पतिः ॥ That Agni is being called *Bhārata* (worshipped by the Bharatas) and *Divodasasya Satpatiḥ* (the true lord of Divodāsa) in the same breath makes it more than probable that Divodāsa was a Bharata. The Bharatas are placed near the banks of the Sarasvatī in RV. III, 23, it is sure. But they are the descendants of the self-same Divodāsa, as I shall show elsewhere. RV. III. 33 and iii. 35, show us Viśvāmitra leading Sudās, Divodāsa's son (not grandson as Dr. Das and others have assumed—see RV. VII. 18. 25 (दिवोदासं न पितरं सुदासः) across the Beas and the Sutlej for conquering and probably settling in the

land to the south of these rivers. The Bhārata princes Devaśravas and Devavāta ('seers' of ṚV. III. 23) were probably some late descendants of the Tṛtsu-Bharatas settled in the land later known as Kuruṣetra. I shall have to discuss fully elsewhere the passages on which I have come to this conclusion and I therefore do not try to establish this point here. I only mention it to show that Dr. Das proves nothing by pointing out that Agni has been mentioned in one passage as Bhārata and as Daivodāsa elsewhere.

Fortunatley, ṚV. VI. 16. 19 is not the only passage which establishes that the Tṛtsu kings Divodāsa and Sudās were Bharatas. ṚV. III. 53 on which Dr. Das has drawn so much clearly proves this identity. He has cited in translation of verse 11 of this hymn. The following verse shows that Sudās was a Bharata. Let me quote the two verses and our readers will judge for themselves.

उप प्रेत कुशिका श्चेतयध्वमश्वं राये प्रमुञ्चता सुदासः ।
राजा वृत्रं जंघनत्प्रागपागुदगथा यजाते वर आ पृथिव्याः ॥११॥
य इमे रोदसी उभे अहमिन्द्रमतुष्टवम् ।
विश्वामित्रस्य रक्षति ब्रह्मेदं भारतं जनम् ॥१२॥

That I may not be blamed of reading my own thoughts here, I give Griffith's translation :

"11. Come forward Kuśikas, and be attentive; let loose Sudāsa's horse to win him riches.
East, west and north, let the king slay the foeman, then at earth's choicest place perform his sacrifice.
12. Praises to Indra have I sung, sustainer of this earth and heaven.
This prayer of Viśvāmitra keeps secure the race of Bharatas."

I leave it to my readers to draw their own conclusions. The concluding verse of the hymn again refers to the sons of Bharata. It passes my understanding how Dr. Das could read in the first half of this hymn an eagerness on the part of Viśvamitra to help Sudās and in the latter half Viśvāmitra's deserting this very person and going over to his enemies (?). What this hymn means I shall show in detail elsewhere. I am here concerned only with the identity of the Tṛtsus and Bharatas.

Turning to the Vasiṣṭha collection, we find in VII. 33 [6] that Vasiṣṭha vaunts, "Formerly the Bharatas were like sticks for goading cattle, were scattered and insignificant but Vasiṣṭha became the priest and then the progeny of the Tṛtsus spread". The original is दण्डा इवेद् गोअजनास आसन् परिच्छिन्ना भरता अर्भकासः । अभवच्च पुर एता वसिष्ठ आदित्तृत्सूनां विशो अप्रथन्त ॥ My readers will see that I have given a literal translation. Dr. J. Muir, of course (Original Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I, first edition, p. 122), read in this passage a reference to the Bharatas as the vanquished enemies of the Tṛtsus. But his view is altogether untenable. दण्डा इवेद् गोअजनास आसन् परिच्छिन्ना भरता अर्भकासः shows the condition prior to the Vasiṣṭhas being chosen as priests and आदित्तृत्सूनां विशो अप्रथन्त the condition after that happy event. अर्भकासः means 'weak like children' and cannot therefore be a term of reproach. Sāyaṇa has given here a very natural interpretation from which I may make one quotation, which will probably interest Dr. Das : आदित् तृत्सूनां विशो अप्रयन्त तृत्सूनामेव राज्ञाभरता इति नामान्तरेण उपादानम् (It is the Tṛtsu kings who are being here called by a different name, viv., 'Bharatas'). The vaunt expressed in this verse has a close parallel in RV. VII. 18. 17 which Dr. Das has read and cited in his paper.

Dr. Das has read the article on the Tṛtsus in the Vedic Index but probably not the one on the Bharatas in the second volume (pp. 94-97) of the book. Had he done so he would have known that Professors Macdonell and Keith were not the only "Western Scholars" to identify the Tṛtsus with the Bharatas. But whatever regard he may have for these "Western Scholars", I have shown that one eastern scholar (Sāyaṇācārya on RV., VII. 33. 6) has believed in this identification. I shall cite another Eastern scholar and this time the Niruktakāra Yāska himself.

In the Nirukta (ii. 24-27) Yāska explains some of the the verses of RV. III. 33, a hymn which Dr. Das has utilised in his paper. Yāska begins his explanations with the following introductory remarks :—

विश्वामित्र ऋषि सुदासः पैजवनस्य पुरोहितो बभूव ॥ [विश्वामित्रः सर्वमित्रः सर्वं संसृतम् । सुदाः कल्याणदानः । पैजवनः पिजवनस्य पुत्रः । पिजवनः पुनः स्पर्ड्वनीयजवो वा अभिश्रीभावगतिर्वा ॥] स वित्तं गृहीत्वा विपाट्छुतुद्र्योः सम्भेदमाययौ । अनुमयुरितरे । स विश्वामित्रो नदीस्तुष्टाव 'गाधा भवत्' इति ॥

Omitting the etymological notes, the above may be translated as, "The Ṛṣi Viśvāmitra was the priest of Sudās Paijavana......He taking (his) money, came up to the confluence of the Vipāś and the Śutudrī (and) the others followed. Viśvāmitra then prayed to the rivers to become fordable". This passage clearly shows that Viśvāmitra was leading on Sudās and his tribe who must be 'the others' of Yāska. The naming of Sudās otherwise becomes unaccountable. I do not wish to hide from my readers the fact that Yāska's commentator Durgācārya paraphrases इतरे (others) by तदनुयायिनस्तस्करा वा ('his followers or thieves'). But Durgācārya is most clearly in the wrong. The text of Yāska, as it stands, forces us

to connect इतरे with Sudās Paijavana. Thieves are out of the question. We find in the text of the hymn Viśvāmitra mentioning the Bharatas and these Bharatas are therefore none other than Tṛtsus. Hence it is impossible to hold that RV. III. 33 shows us the Bharatas marching against the Tṛtsus from the land to the south of the Sutlej. The only conclusion that can be drawn is that after Sudās had conquered (may जंघनत् in RV. III. 53. 11c be taken in the past tense as Sāyaṇa has done ?) "the east, the west and the north" (RV., III. 53. 11c), Viśvāmitra led him on to the south (the वर आ पृथिव्याः of III 53. 11d) where the called wealth of the niggardly non-Aryan Kīkaṭas was proverbial ?). The Bharatas are spoken of in RV., III. 33. 11 as 'full of desire for cattle' (=full of desire for conquest, गव्यन्) and not 'full of ardour for battle' as Dr. Das supposes. The Beas and the Sutlej must have fallen in their way as they were marching southwards from their older abode near the Ravi and Viśvāmitra helped them by his "prayers" to cross the streams. It is this which is described in III.33 with such dramatic vividness and Viśvāmitra probably refers to the self-same feat in III.539.

महाँ ऋषिर्देवजा देवजूतोऽस्तभ्नात्सिन्धुमर्णवं नृचक्षाः ।
विश्वामित्रो यदवहत्सुदासमप्रियायत कुशिकेभिरिन्द्रः ॥

which is thus translated by Griffith: ("The mighty sage, God-born and God-incited, who looks on men, restrained the billowy river. When Viśvāmitra was Sudās'sescort, then Indra through the Kuśikas grew friendly." This translation is fairly correct. The singular in सिन्धुम् (river) constitutes no difficulty for the same form is iused in III,33.3. सिन्धुम् in the passage under discussion (iii, 539) means according to Sāyaṇa विपाट्छुतुद्र्योः सम्भेदम् ('the

confluence of the Beas and Sutlej' mentioned in RV., III. 33 and Nirukta, ii.24). This proves beyond doubt that the Tṛtsu chief Sudās was a Bharata and that no Bharata ever attacked him as Dr. Das supposes. That Viśvāmitra had no hand in the Dāśarājña battle as I shall show elsewhere—I have studied the whole question of King Sudās's relations with the Bharadvājas, the Vaisiṣṭhas and the Viśvāmitra.

Postscript.—If I have not already convinced Dr. Das about the identity of the Tṛtsus with the Bharatas, I may quote Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa, xv. 5.24 ऋषयो वा इन्द्रं प्रत्यक्षं नापश्यन् स वसिष्ठोऽकामयत कथमिन्द्रं प्रत्यक्षं पश्येयमिति स एतन्निहवमपश्यत् ततो स इन्द्रं प्रत्यक्षम् अपश्यत् स एतमब्रवीद् ब्राह्मणन्ते वक्ष्यामि यथा त्वत्पुरोहिता भरताः प्रजनिष्यन्तेऽथ मा अन्येभ्य ऋषिभ्यो मा प्रवोच इति तस्मा एतान् स्तोमभागानब्रवीत्ततो वसिष्ठपुरोहिता भरताः प्राजायन्त सेन्द्रं वा एतत्साम भवति सेन्द्रत्वाय ॥

This shows that the Yajamānas of the Vasiṣṭhas were Bharatas.

II.3

THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE ṚGVEDIC RIVER SARASVATI AND SOME CONNECTED PROBLEMS

सरस्वतीं नमस्कृत्य सरस्वती विचार्यते ।
सिन्धुनाम्ना प्रसिद्धा या मध्यदेशेऽपि या स्थिता ॥
प्रसङ्गेन श्रुतेरर्थान् अन्यानपि लिखाम्यहम् ।
महानन्दः परं ब्रह्म प्रीयतां मत्प्रचेष्टया ॥

I

Ths Ṛgveda abounds in geographical names. of them river-names are the most important. Their identification is greatly simplified by the fact that many of these names agree with those in classical literature or still in use. But are we justified in assuming that wherever a Ṛgvedic name agrees with a later one, the object signified by the Ṛgvedic name is identical with the object signified by the later name ? The more scientific attitude for a student of the Ṛgveda would be to test in each case if the Ṛgvedic object can be the same as the later object having the same name. Whoever studies the Vedas closely, after casting off from his mind all orthodox bias, is constrained to admit that the Ṛgvedic Aryans had recently come into India from outside and were still confined to the Punjab and that the later Vedic literature show the gradual extension of Aryan colonisation. Migrating people often carry old names and apply them to objects in their new locality. I might mention only New York, New South Wales and Cambridge (in Massachussets, U.S.A.). Such

phenomena must have occurred in India too; the names Uttarakośala and Kośala, Uttarakuru and Kuru, Uttaramadra and Madra establish the point. The only difference lies in the fact that in these instances the elder place has a qualifying adjunct ('Uttara,' etc.), whereas in the non-Indian names cited above it is the new place which generally carries a qualifying adjunct ('New,' etc.); but we know England was also characterised by Americans as 'Old England.' 'Cambridge' in England and 'Cambridge' in U.S.A. show that it is also possible to transfer an old name without adding an adjunct.[1]

It is thus that problems arise about the identification of Ṛgvedic rivers which have names that are preserved in later literature. There is thus a great controversy over the identification of the Ṛgvedic river Sárasvatī. Lassen and Max Müller[2] support its identification with the later Sarsuti which loses itself in the desert at Bhatnair. But almost all other German Vedic scholars have pronounced themselves in favour of identifying it with the Indus. At the head of all stands Roth, who in the St. Petersburg Dictionary. Vol. VII, p. 786, shows that in most passages of the Ṛgveda and in some late

1. Girivraja, the capital of Kekaya, lay in the Punjab in the time of the Rāmāyaṇa. Compare Rāmāyaṇa, Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa, Chapter 71, verses 1 and 2 (Nirnay Sagar edition): स प्राङ्मुखो राजगृहादभिनिर्याय वीर्यवान् । ततः सुदामां द्युतिमान् सन्तीर्यावेक्ष्य तां नदीम् ॥ ह्लादिनीं दूरपारां च प्रत्यक्स्रोतस्तरङ्गिणीम् । शतद्रूमतरच्छ्रीमान् नदीमिक्ष्वाकुनन्दनः ॥ describing Bharata's return from the house of his maternal uncle. But in later times we find a Girivraja in Bihar. I am indebted to my friend Professor Sudhāṃśukumār Sen Gupta, M.A., of the Rangpur Carmichael College, for drawing my attention to this fact.

2. Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. II., p. 435.

passages सरस्वती as a river means the Indus. Zimmer,[3] Grassmann,[4] Ludwig,[5] Weber,[6] Oldenberg,[7] Hillebrandt,[8] Kaegi,[9] and the English translator of the Vedas, Mr. Griffith,[10] have followed Roth. But Professor Macdonell,[11] who calls himself a pupil of Max Müller and his pupil Professor Keith[12] have refused to accept the Sárasvatī-Indus identification. I have restudied the question taking the help of these and other authorities and have come to the conclusion that "Sárasvatī" originally meant the Indus. I give below in detail my reasons for believing in this identification and therewith the solution of certain problems which it seems to afford.

According to Grassmann (Wörterbuch, columm 1488), the word Sárasvatī occurs in tne undermentioned passages of the Ṛgveda :—

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3. Altindisches Leben, pp. 8-10-
4. Wörterbuch zum Rigveda, column 1488, Rigveda-Uebersetzung, Vol. p. 373.
5. Die Mantralitteratur und die alte Indien (Rigveda-Uebersetzung, Vol. III), pp. 201-202, Die Nachtrichten des Rig und Atharvaveda über Geographie, Geschichte und Verfassung des alten Indien p. 13.
6. History of Indian Literature, translated by Mann and Zachariae, p. 44 footnote.
7. Ṛgveda, textkritische und exegetische Noten II 63.
8. Vedische Mythologie, I. 92 ff. and 115.
9. Der Rigveda, 2 Aufl, p. 146, note 39 (English translation, p. 110)
10. Hymns of the Rigveda, on R. V. VI. 61.2 &c.
11. History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 142, Vedic Mythology, p. 87. Vedic Index, II, 435-437.
12. Vedic Index, *loc. cit.*, Cambridge History of India, I. p. 80.

(A) As proper name for a river—the small stream in the Madhyadeśa—III. 23.4.

(B) As proper name for a river—the Indus—but venerated as a goddess. I. 164.49; II. 41.18; VI. 47.7; VI. 61.1-7, 10.11.14; VII. 95. 1.2.4-6; VII. 96. 1.3; IX. 67.32; X. 17.7.8; X. 30.12.

(C) As proper name for a river, invoked with other streams II. 32.8; V. 42.12; VI. 52.6; X. 64.9; X. 75.5; X. 184.2; Vāl. 6.4.

(D) As proper name for a river invoked along with other gods I. 89.3; II. 30.8; III. 53.13; V. 43.11; V. 46.2; VI. 50.12; VII. 9.5; VII. 35.11; VII. 36.6; VII. 39.5; VII. 40.3; VIII. 21.17.18; IX. 81. 4; X. 65. 1,13; X. 131.5; X. 141.5.

(E) As the presiding goddess of 'devotion' I. 3.10-12.

(F) As the presiding goddess of 'devotion' praised in conjunction with Īḍā and Bhāratī or Īḍā and Mahī or Hotrā Bhāratī, Īḍā and Mahī, or Hotrā, Bhāratī and Īḍā, I. 188.8; II. 3.8; III. 4.8; IX. 5.8; X. 110.8—I. 13.9; V. 5.8—I. 142.9—II. 1.11.

(G) Also as a male counterpart (Sárasvant) in I. 164.52; VII. 96. 4-6 and X. 66.5. (To these should be added VII. 95.3 which according to the Anukramaṇikā refers to Sárasvant.)

I shall discuss some of these passages and show that many of them warrant us in accepting the identification with the Indus.

(A) Under this section Grassmann cites only one passage, which he thinks refers to the river in the Madhyadeśa. Roth[13] too is of the same opinion. They

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13. Sanskrit-Wörterbuch, article on सरस्वती, section *(c)*.

are probably right. The passage is नि त्वा दधे वर आ पृथिव्या इळायास्पदे सुदिनत्वे अह्नाम् । दृषद्वत्यां मानुष आपयायां सरस्वत्यां रेवदग्ने दिदीहि ॥ Here two Bharata princes Devaśravas and Devavāta are asking Agni to shine bountifully on the Dṛṣádvatī, Āpayá and Sárasvatī. The Sárasvatī thus becomes contiguous to the Dṛṣádvati and the Āpayá and Professors Macdonell and Keith are certainly justified in taking the Sárasvatī of this passage to be the modern Sarsuti. I shall return to this verse after I have discussed the other passages.

(B) Passing on to the next section, we get three passages (I. 164.49, IX. 67.32 and X. 17 7-9) which are not precise : any river can be understood as referred to. In X. 30.12 आपो रेवतीः क्षयथा हि वस्वः क्रतुं च भद्रं बिभृथामृतं च । रायश्च स्थ स्वपत्यस्य पत्नीः सरस्वती तद्गृणते वयो धात् ॥," too there is nothing which makes us decide for the Indus or the Sarsuti. The whole hymn is in praise of the waters ("आपम् अपोनप्त्रीयं वा" in the Anukramaṇī). No particular river is refered to in any other verse of the hymn and the 'streams' (सिन्धवः) or the 'waters' (आपः) are referred to in general terms. It is therefore possible that the सरस्वती in the twelfth verse is little more than the presiding goddess of rivers. The verse may be translated line by line as—

O bounteous waters wealth do you possess,
Good knowlegde have you and immortality,
Mistress are you of prosperity with good sons;
Hence may Sárasvatī give sustenance to her singer.

The waters are invoked in the first three lines and the poet passes on to Sárasvatī in the fourth in a tone which shows that he has not begun a different theme. If we take Sárasvatī to be the same deity as the waters in the first three lines the abruptness of the fourth line is taken

away. Taking सरस्वती here simply as a personification of rivers is not difficult in view of the fact that the Nighaṇṭu (I. 13) puts down सरस्वत्य: among the synonyms for 'river.'

In R. V. II. 41, verses 17 and 18 are not precise but verse 16 अम्बितमे नदीतमे देवितमे सरस्वति । अप्रशस्ता इव स्मसि प्रशस्तिम्ब नः कृधि ।" clearly indicates Sárasvatī to be a big river which can be called a 'river of rivers' and a 'mother of mothers' and which can make poor Gṛtsamadas prosperous Roth therefore cites this passage in support of his view that the Sárasvatī originally meant the Indus. We next come to VI. 49. 7 : पावीरवी कन्या चित्रायुः सरस्वती वीरपत्नी धियं धात् । ग्नाभिरच्छिद्रं शरणं सजोषा दुराधर्षं गृणते शर्म यंसत् ।।, where there are clear indications of the river Indus. The Sárasvatī has been here called वीरपत्नी and ग्नाभिः सजोषाः. Griffith is inclined to take वीरपत्नी to mean the wife of Sárasvant. He may be right though of course, that is not certain. What the "सरस्वान्" is will be discussed later on. The word ग्ना is listed in the Nighaṇṭu (I. 11) among the synonyms for वाच् but is also in the द्विश उत्तराणि नामानि list beginning with प्रपित्वे अभीके, etc. (Nigh. III. 29), by the side of मेना. Yāska (Nir. III, 21.2) explains मेना and ग्ना as meaning 'woman.' While commenting on the last Nighaṇṭu word देवपत्न्यः, he quotes (Nir. XII. 46) R.V. V. 46.8 where the word ग्नाः occurs; though he does not explain the word, his commentator does and he give स्त्रियः as the equivalent. But in the concluding section of the Tenth Chapter of the Nirukta, Yāska renders ग्नाः by "(गमनात्) आपः", while commenting on R. V. X. 95.7, Griffith translates the expression ग्नाभिः सजोषाः in the passage under discussion (R. V. VI. 42.7) by 'with the Dames concordant', Grassmann by 'combined with the wives' and Ludwig by 'with the *gnās* (women) concordant.' Now ग्नाभिः सजोषाः obviously refers to सरस्वती in the first line

though संजोषा: has been rendered by Sāyaṇa according to the Bombay text,[14] by सह प्रीयमाणा: and not by the singular सह प्रीयमाणा. Would I be far wrong in seeing in these *gnās*, with whom the Sárasvatī is associated, a reference to the five rivers of the Punjab and other tributaries of the Indus ? This case by itself may prove nothing but I shall show below other similar expressions which would go a far way towards supporting my identification of the Sárasvatī of this passage with the Indus.

Let me now take up the several reference to the Sárasvatī in R. V. VI. 61, a hymn addressed to सरस्वती. First comes up इयं शुष्मेभिर्बिसखा इवारुजत्सानु गिरीणां तविषेभिरूर्मिभिः । पारावतघ्नीमवसे सुवृक्तिभिः । सरस्वतीमा विवासेम धीतिभिः ॥, VI. 61. 2. In the first and second lines the Sárasvatī is said to loosen with her dashing waves rocks from the sides of mountains as easily as one might dig up lotus roots. Now, I ask in all earnestness, can this definition apply to the Sarsuti which is not a mountainous river ? The Sarsuti is essentially a river of the plains. But the Indus on the other hand winds its way through mountains for several hundreds of miles and does not leave its mountainous character even after it passes Attock. "The Indus is about 1,800 miles in total length and is more of a mountain-bred river than the Ganges. Even after it has left the Himalayas and wound its course across the Eastern Peshāwar plain to Attock (where it is spanned by the railway bridge of the N. W. Ry. system) it has

14. The text is probably corrupt here. In any case सजोषा: cannot be in the plural for its verb यंसत् is in the singular. सजोषस् is the stem (*cf*. R. V. X. 110. 3 and Nir. VIII. 8 on this verse) and सजोषाः is its regular form in masculine or feminine nominative singular.

not lost its characteristic of a gorge-enclosed river. It swirls down through deep rifts and clefts below Attock, parting the rugged spurs of the Punjab Salt Ranges are it emerges into an open network of channels near the salt-built town of Kālābāgh, at least 200 miles from its Himalayan gates, and long after it has received its frontier affluents, the Kābul and Kohāt rivers."[15]

The meaning of पारावतघ्नीम् in the third line need not detain us here for I shall have to discuss it later on. The reference to the unending length and the roaring torrent of the river in the 8th verse : यस्यां अनन्तो अह्रुतस्त्वेषश्चरिष्णुरर्णवः । अमश्चरति रोरुवत् ॥ clearly supports its identification with the Indus. Of the same purpose is the fact that the Sárasvatī has been called in verse 10 सप्तस्वसा and in 12 सप्तधातुः.[16] These Seven sisters are clearly the seven tributaries of the Indus which gave to the Panjab in Vedic times the name of सप्त सिन्धवः and in the language of ancient Iran 'Hapta Hindu' (*cf.* Vendidad I. 19). In verse 12, त्रिषधस्था सप्तधातुः पञ्च जाता वर्धयन्ती । वाजेवाजे हव्या भूत् ॥, the Sarasvatī has been called 'residing in three regions.' This probably means that it flows through heaven, earth and the middle region. It is difficult to see how a tiny stream like the Sarsuti can be given this proud title. But त्रिषधस्था is easily intelligible in the case of the Indus whose origin is in regions where no man (=Áryans) has penetrated, which has run through mountains for hundreds of miles and then taken a level course. It is also on the banks of such a lengthy river that the five tribes(पञ्च जाता) could reside.

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14. Imperial Gazetteer of India, New Series, Vol. I, p. 29. See Encyclopædia Britannica, 11th edition, Vol. XIV, pp. 507-8.

15. Griffith translates सप्तधातुः by 'seven sistered' and Grassmann and Sāyaṇa by 'seven membered.'

Further, verse 9, सा नो विश्वा अति द्विषः स्वसॄरन्या ऋतावरी । अतन्नहेव सूर्यः ॥, where the Sárasvati is asked to mrke 'us' (the Aryans) overcome the enemies and cross the other sisters (clearly, as Sāyaṇa also understands, the seven rivers), as the sun by his movement makes people go over the days, clearly shows that (1) the Sárasvati of the passage is the Indus and (2) that it gave the Aryans an approach to the Punjab. It is the Sárasvati that the Aryans reached first when coming from the north or north east of the Pamir and naturally the poet says in verse 3 of the hymn, सरस्वति देवनिदो नि बर्हय प्रजां विश्वस्य बृसयस्य मायिनः । उत क्षितिभ्योऽवनीरविन्दो विषमेभ्यो अस्रवो वाजिनीवति ॥ Sāyaṇa thus explains the third tnd fourth lines: "उत अपिच हे वाजिनीवति अन्नवति सरस्वति त्वं क्षितिभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यः अवनीः असुरैरपहृता भूमीः अविन्दः अलम्भयः । एभ्यो मनुष्येभ्यः विषमुदकं च अस्रवः अक्षारयः । यद्वा क्षितयोऽसुरजनाः तेभ्यः सकाशात् अवनी भूमी अविन्दो लब्धवान् (?) असि । तान् हत्वा एभ्यश्चासुरेभ्यो विषं मृतिहेतुभूतं गरलम् अस्रवः ।" Griffith translates, "Thou hast discovered rivers for the tribes of men, and, rich in wealth! made poison flow away from them," Grassmann, "To the tribes hast thou brought near the streams, nevertheless a poison hast thou poured to those, O dispenser," Ludwig, "To the peoples hast thou found the rivers, that poison hast thou allowed to flow over to them, O mistress of mares," Hillebrandt,[16] "The streams hast thou bestowed for our settlements (क्षितिभ्यः ?) and poison to flow to those, O thou rich in mares," Langlois[17], "O goddess, surrounded with offerings, thou hast found the means of healing men. To our enemies thou has poured forth poison." क्षितयः is given in the Nighaṇṭu (II. 3) as synonym for मनुष्याः,

16. Lieder des Rigveda, Göttingen 1913, p. 79.

17. Rig Veda, traduit par A. Langlois, Paris 1870. I owe the English rendering to my friend Professor Priyaranjan Sen, M.A., Kāvyatīrtha

अवनिः in the singular in Ngh. I. I as a synonym for पृथिवी and अवनयः in the plural in I. 13 for नदी. उत क्षितिभ्योऽवनीरविन्दः may therefore be translated as "and you found the tribes rivers (by which to live)." क्षितिभ्यः should not be translate, as Hillebrandt has done, by 'for our settlements.' The plural is against him. विषमेभ्यो अस्रवः is not so easy. Langlois understands एभ्यः to refer to the enemies and that is also Sāyaṇa's second interpretation; according to Sāyaṇa's first interpretation it refers so the very people for whome the rivers have been found. विषम् Sāyaṇa first paraphrases by 'water' (Nighaṇṭu I. 12. 15, see R. V. X. 136. 1*a* and Yāska's Nirukta XII. 26 on it) and gives it it the meaning of 'poison' only as an alternative explanation. We can thus have three translations for विषमेभ्यो अस्रवः—(1) 'but you made poison flow to the enemies or the demons,' (2) 'and you made poison[18] flow from off[29] these peoples' and (3) 'and you made water flow for these peoples.' All these meanings are possible but (3) which is Sāyaṇa's first interpretation seems to be best suited to the context. After all these details of interpretation it is now quite plain that Sàrasvati gave the Áryans an approach to the waters or the lands (according to Sāyaṇa)

18. The poison must be that of heat. If the second interpretatin is accepted, we should search for the route (or one route) of Aryan migration through some dry cr unhealthy regions. The path taken by Fâ-Hien would answer to this description. He actually mentions venomous dragons. See "The Travels of Fâ-Hien" translated by Legge, Oxford 1886, p. 24., Beal's Buddhist Records of the Western World, London, 1884, Introduction, p. xxix.

19. एभ्यः should in this case be understood as in the fifth case ending.

of the Punjab.[3] We cannot therefore be wrong in indentifying it with the Indus. That my readers may see the bearing of my remarks, I shall conclude by quoting the hymn in full:

इयमददाद्रभसमृणच्युतं दिवोदासं वध्र्यश्वाय दाशुषे ।
या शश्वन्तमाचखादावसं पणिं ता ते दात्राणि तविषा सरस्वति ॥१॥
इयं शुष्मेभिर्बिसखा इवारुजत्सानु गिरीणां तविषेभिरूर्मिभिः ।
पारावतघ्नीमवसे सुवृक्तिभिः सरस्वतीमा विवासेम धीतिभिः ॥२॥
सरस्वति देवनिदो नि बर्हय प्रजां विश्वस्य वृसयस्य मायिनः ।
उत क्षितिभ्योऽवनीरविन्दो विषमेभ्यो अस्रवो वाजिनीवति ॥३॥
प्र णो देवी सरस्वती वाजेभिर्वाजिनीवती । धीनामवित्र्यवतु ॥४॥
यस्त्वा देवि सरस्वत्युपब्रूते धने हिते । इन्द्रं न वृत्रतूर्ये ॥५॥
त्वं देवि सरस्वत्यवा वाजेषु वाजिनि । रदा पूषेव नः सनिम् ॥६॥
उत स्या नः सरस्वती घोरा हिरण्यवर्तनिः । वृत्रघ्नी वष्टि सुष्टुतिम् ॥७॥
यस्या अनन्तो अह्रुतस्त्वेषश्चरिष्णुरर्णवः । अमश्चरति रोरुवत् ॥८॥
सा नो विश्वा अति द्विषः स्वसॄरन्या ऋतावरी । अतन्नहेव सूर्यः ॥९॥
उत नः प्रिया प्रियासु सप्तस्वसा सुजुष्टा । सरस्वती स्तोम्या भूत् ॥१०॥
आपप्रुषी पार्थिवान्युरु रजो अन्तरिक्षम् । सरस्वती निदस्पातु ॥११॥
त्रिषधस्था सप्तधातुः पञ्च जाता वर्धयन्ती । वाजेवाजे हव्या भूत् ॥१२॥
प्र या महिम्ना महिनासु चेकिते द्युम्नेभिरन्या अपसामपस्तमा ॥
रथ इव बृहती विभ्वने कृतोपस्तुत्या चिकितुषा सरस्वती ॥१३॥
सरस्वत्यभि नो नेषि वस्यो माप स्फरीः पयसा मा न आ धक् ।
जुषस्व नः सख्या वेश्या च मा त्वत्क्षेत्राण्यरणानि गन्म ॥१४॥

I may now pass on to R. V. VII. 95, another hymn addressed to Sarasvatī. I have discussed this hymn in

20. This is not the place to prove that the Āryas came from outside India. I may attempt this elsewhere. Apart from philological arguments, Vedic texts can be adduced which do suggest recent advent of the Aryans into this land.

the Calcutta Review for May, 1922, pp. 318–331, but I shall do this once again. I begin by quoting the hymn in full:

प्र क्षोदसा धायसा सस्र एषा सरस्वती धरुणमायसी पूः ।
प्रबाबधाना रथ्येव याति विश्वा अपो महिना सिन्धुरन्याः ॥१॥
एका चेतत्सरस्वती नदीनां शुचिर्यती गिरिभ्य आ समुद्रात् ।
रायश्चेतन्ती भुवनस्य भूरेर्घृतं पयो दुदुहे नाहुषाय ॥२॥
स वावृधे नर्यो योषणासु वृषा शिशुर्वृषभो यज्ञियासु ।
स वाजिनं मघवद्भ्यो दधाति वि सातये तन्वं मामृजीत ॥३॥
उत स्या नः सरस्वती जुषाणोप श्रवत्सुभगा यज्ञे अस्मिन् ।
मितज्ञुभिर्नमस्यैरियाना राया युजा चिदुत्तरा सखिभ्यः ॥४॥
इमा जुह्वाना युष्मदा नमोभिः प्रति स्तोमं सरस्वति जुषस्व ।
तत्र शर्मन् प्रियतमे दधाना उप स्थेयाम शरणं न वृक्षम् ॥५॥
अयमु ते सरस्वति वसिष्ठो द्वारावृतस्य सुभगे व्यावः ।
वर्ध शुभ्रे स्तुवते रासि वाजान्यूयं पात स्वस्तिभिः सदा नः ॥६॥

From the very first verse, we find clear indications of the river Indus. विश्वा अन्या अपः प्रबाबधाना याति means "(the Sárasvatī) goes pushing amain all the other streams." This is quite correct of the Indus which meets sevral tributaries and instead of swerving its own course carries down their waters with her own and the poet naturally conceives सरस्वती as going विश्वा अन्या अपः प्रबाबधाना. प्रबाबधाना = प्रबाधमाना (Sāyaṇa) and it can never mean "outstripping" as supposed by Dr. Ábnaschandra Das (Rigvedic India, Vol. I, p. 72). In the second verse the Sárasvatī is said to go from the hills to the sea. This description would apply better to the Indus. The Sarsuti may have reached the Arabian Sea[21] by joining the Indus somewhere below

21. The Rajputana Sea is impossible. The Ṛgveda shows the civilisation of the late Iron Age, long before which the Rajputana Sea dried up.

Sukkur or the Rann of Cutch, either direct or through the old bed of the Indus[22] as beds of the Sarsuti and the Ghaggar seem to indicate; and the Sarsuti does rise from the Siwalik Hills (which are not very high) but it very soon reaches the plains. The Indus on the other hand rises from the Himalayas, rushes through mountains for hundreds of miles and reaches the Sea directly. Roth therefore cites R. V. VII. 95. 2 in support of his Sárasvatī-Indus-identification; but it must be admitted that the description here may hold good for the Sarsuti too, only the Indus suiting it *better*. In the last line of the second verse, the Sárasvatī is said to have supplied ghee and water (or ghee like water) to Nāhuṣa. There is a good deal of controversy over the meaning of 'Nahuṣ' or 'Nahuṣa' or 'the Nāhuṣas,'[23] but Nahuṣ or Nahuṣa was probably a man (a chief) and the Nāhuṣas may have been his descendants. In R. V. VIII. 6.24 उत त्यदाश्वश्व्यं यदिन्द्र नाहुषीष्वा । अग्रे विक्षु प्रदीदयत् ॥, Indra is invoked by Vatsa Kaṇva to bestow on him (or, may be, on his patron Tirindira Pāraśavya) 'that troop of fleet horses which in the primary days the Nāhuṣa subjects could boast of.' Now if Nahuṣa or the Nāhuṣas are placed somewhere on the banks of the Indus, their fleet horses can be very well understood and that alone might confirm the indentification of the Sárasvatī with the Indus on the basis of

22. See Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. I, p. :0, Vol XII, pp. 212-213; Holditch, Gates of India, pp. 27, 144; Oldham, J.R.A.S. XXV. 49-76; Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, maps 2, 3, 4, and the coloured folding map there and Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, map; also map accompanying Raverty's paper "The Mihrán of Sind and its Tributaries," in J.A.S.B., 1892.

23. See Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, Vol. I, pp. 438-38.

VII. 95.2 "एका चेतत्सरस्वती नदीनां शुचिर्यती गिरिभ्य आ समुद्रात् । रायश्चेतन्ती भुवनस्य भूरेर्घृतं पयो दुदुहे नाहुषाय ॥." The Bṛhad-devatā (ed. Macdonell) VI. 19-24 gives the story of king Nāhuṣa, who wishing to perform a thousand years' sacrifice approached several rivers with the request of carrying away his offered oblation but as they refused on the plea of being *alpavīrya* and as they so advised him, he came to the Sárasvatī and had his prayer granted.

Verse 3 of R. V. VII. 95 clearly supports the Sárasvati-Indus- indentification. Its 'deity' is according to the Anukramaṇikā, Sárasvant and the Anukramaṇikā is right, for in the following hymn Sárasvant is invoked by name in verses 4-6 after Sárasvatī's praise in verses 1-3 Sárasvant is according to the compiler or compilers of the Nighaṇṭu a god of 'the middle region' and Sāyaṇa positively identifies him with Vāyu though Yāska says nothing explicit on the point. But we need listen to none of them.[24] If सरस्वान् is classed with वायु: and other gods of the middle region, सरस्वती too is so classed. As सरस्वती in VII. 95 and VII. 96 is a river and not a मध्यमस्थानदेवता, सरस्वान् too of the same hymns should not belong to the 'middle region.' Who then is he? Obviously he is somebody closely connected with the Sárasvatī. The first and second lines of verse 3 may be translated thus,—"That hero, (who was before) a child increased and (became) a bull, able to saturate, when the sacrificial damsels (eached him)." This Sárasvant is quite clearly the lower part of the river Sárasvatī (=the Indus) after the Kubhā (with the Suvāstu), Krumu and other tributaries of the Indus had joined her—"He who was a child before has become a potent bull now" can only mean "the stream which was narrow before

24. Sárasvant in I, 164.52 is clearly a मध्यमस्थानदेवता.

has now become broad." "Now"="after the 'sacrificial damsels' (=the holy rivers), had reached him." This clearly means that the Indus became very broad after the Kabul and Punjab rivers reached it. I cannot understand how any other interpretation can be put on the passage. Sarsuti does not now, and did not as certainly in the past, receive a number of tributaries which could swell its stream. I am giving below Sāyaṇa's comments on the passage and it will be seen that I am partly supported by him. He writes,

स मध्यमस्थानो वायुः सरस्वान् नर्यो नरेभ्यो हितः (Sā. renders नर्यः by 'beneficial'--'manly' would be better) योषणासु यतः[25] वृषा सेचनसमर्थः शिशुः अल्पः प्रादुर्भावसमये अल्पतया दृश्यमानः वृषभी वर्षिता (here Sāyaṇa has failed or ommited to bring out the contrast between शिशु and वृषभ) एवंभूत सरस्वान् यज्ञियासु यज्ञार्हासु योषणासु आत्मनः कलत्रभूतासु मध्यमस्थानास्वप्सु (clearly=नदीषु, Sāyaṇa's addition of मध्यमस्थानासु is altogether gratuitous) मध्ये (why not make भावे सप्तमी—तासु आगतासु मिलितासु ?) ववृधे वर्धते ॥

Sárasvatī according to the Nighaṅṭu (I. 13) means simply a river, a नदी. Sárasvant should then mean a नद and Amara in the Nānārthavarga of the Third Kāṇḍa of his Nāmaliṅga gives it the meanings of नद and अर्णव. If the Sárasvant of VII. 95.3 is the part of the Indus from where Kubhā, Krumu adn Gomatī join her, we may well understand the later designation of the Indus as a नद. An additional support for my supposition that the Sárasvant in VII. 95.3 (and VII. 96. 4-6) meant the lower part of the Indus (below Dera Ismail Khan) may be found in

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25. योषणासु यतः is omitted by Peterson (Second Lelection of Hymns from the Rigveda[2], p. 255) and Vijapurkar, and in Max Müller's text. I have given the reading of the Bombay text, published by Tukaram Tatya.

VII. 95.3, स वा॒जिनं॑ म॒घवं॑द्भ्यो दधाति, which may be translated as 'he gives to the rich casrificers *horses*.' That वा॒जिन् can mean a horse is born out by the Nighaṇṭu I. 14 and R. V. I. 116.6, I. 168.81 and 88. I. 163.5, IV. 40.4, etc, etc. We may see here a reference to the famous horses of the Indus valley, the 'saindhavas' of later literature.

To support my personal for taking the Sárasvant to be a portion of the Sárasvatī (=the Indus), I may cite similar customs still ruling in the Punjab, *e.g.*, one main branch of the Candrabhāgā at its head-waters is called Candra and the other Bhāgā, one main feeder of the Tungabhadrā river is Tunga and the other Bhadrā, one part of the valley along the Ma uwardwan (=Ṛgvedic मरुद्वृधा according to Stein) is called Maru and another Wārdman.[26]

To continue with R. V. VII. 95, the fourth verse (last quarter) calls Sárasvatī उत्त॒रा सखि॑भ्यः (surpassing her 'associates'). The associates are probably the tributaries (the "seven sisters" of R. V. VI. 61.10) and the Indus certainly surpasses them all by her length, majesty and importance and on account of her receiving the waters of those streams. Verse 5 and 6 contain no precise information this way or that way.

In the following hymn (VII. 96) the Sárasvatī has been called (in the first verse) 'the mighty among rivers' (अ॒सु॒र्या न॒दीनाम्—Sāyaṇa : नदीनां मध्ये असुर्या असुरशब्दाच्चतुर्थ्येकवचनस्य[27] ड्यादेशः

26. See Sir M. A. Stein's paper 'River-ncmes in the Rigveda' in the Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, p. 24.

27. Grassmann (Wörterbuch z. R., 157) takes असुर्या to be in the nominative but he proposes (Wörterbuch, 157 and Ubersetzung I, 584) the emendation असुर्याम्. He also wants to alter रोदसी in the last quarter to रोधसी. But I dare not support such bold emendations.

असुराय॑ बलवत्यै सरस्वत्यै अस्याः प्रीणनार्थमित्यर्थः and surely the Indus is the mightiest of the Punjab rivers. I shall discuss below VII. 96.2, where the Pūrus are said to dwell on both the banks of the Sárasvatī. I may now pass on to the next section—

(C) For the Sárasvatī as a river goddess invoked along with other streams, Grassmann cites II. 32. 8, V. 42.12, VI. 52.6, X. 64.9, X. 75.5, X. 184.2, Vāl. 6.4. R. V. II. 32.8 gives no precise data; nor also V. 42.12, unless we should find in बृहद्दिवा, obviously an adjective of सर॑स्वती, an indication of the mighty character of the river which would be more intelligible in the case of the Indus. In R. V. VI. 52.6, the Sárasvatī has been called 'swelling with the rivers' (सर॑स्वती सिन्धु॑भिः पिन्व॑माना) and that clearly makes it the Indus. Sāyaṇa's rendering सिन्धुभिः स्यन्दनैरुदकैः is altogether unwarranted. The word सिन्धु is not in the Nighaṇṭu list of synonyms for उदक.[28] Sāyaṇa has himself rendered सिन्ध॑वः पिन्व॑मानाः in the verse preceding the previous one (VI. 52.4b) by वर्धमानाः स्यन्दनशीला नद्यः. The Indus certainly does swell when she receives the waters of the Kubhā, the Gomatī and the Punjab rivers. Vālakhilya VI. 4 reads पूषा विष्णुर्हव॑नं मे सर॑स्वत्यव॑न्तु सप्तसिन्ध॑वः । आपो वातः पर्वतासो वनस्पतिः शृणोतु पृथिवी हवम् ॥. If I am allowed to base any arguments on a Vālakhilya passage, I may claim *some* support for my identification from this verse. Sárasvatī is invoked here and then the Seven Rivers

28. In Nir. X. 5, Yāska quotes R. V. VIII. 41.2, तमू षु समना गिरा पितॄणां च मन्म॑भिः । नाभाकस्य प्रश॑स्तिभिर्यः सिन्धू॑नामुपोदये सप्तस्व॑सा स म॑ध्यमो नभ॑न्तामन्यके स॑मे ॥ and renders सिन्धू॑नाम् by स्यन्दमानानामासामपाम् which must mean 'of the rivers' for that meaning alone can suit the context and Sayaṇa too paraphrases सिन्धू॑नाम् here by स्यन्दमानानां नदीनाम्.

and then the waters. Sárasvatī is therefore distinguished from the seven streams and is given a more important position. It becomes probable therefore that the more important सरस्वती of the passage is the Indus and the less important सप्त सिन्धवः the Seven Rivers which carry their waters to the Indus.

But when we come to the passages from the Tenth Maṇḍala, the Sárasvatī-Indus-identification can no longer be supported. In X. 64.9 the Sárasvatī is invoked along with the Síndhu and the Saráyu and must therefore be the later Sarsuti. In the famous verse X. 75.5, इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता परुष्ण्या। असिक्न्या मरुद्वृधे वितस्तयार्जीकीये शृणुह्या सुषोमया ॥" too the Sárasvatī is the Sarsuti for the rivers mentioned here are in due order, from east to west and the Sárasvatī comes after Gaṅgā and Yamunā and before Śutudrī. In X. 184.2, there is no precise datum but as the hymn to which it belong is very late, being in the Epic Anuṣṭubh metre and belonging to what Arnold, following Bloomfield, calls the period of Popular Ṛgveda—we cannot doubt its reference to the Sarsuti.

(D) Under this section (Sárasvatī invoked with other gods), Grassmann cites 18 verses of 16 hymnn. In few of them are there precise data. I shall therefore notice only those passages from which we may learn something. In II. 30.8, सरस्वती has been called मरुत्वती and धृषती which adjectives may apply better to the Indus (*of.* VI. 61.5). In V. 3.11, the sacred Sárasvatī if invoked to come to 'our' sacrifice from the heaven, from the great mountain (आ नो दिवो बृहतः पर्वतादा सरस्वती यजता गन्तु यज्ञम्). The Sarsuti, which rises from the Siwalik ranges would not be this Sárasvatī. The Indus rising from the glaciers of the Himālayas outside India would naturally be asked by the Vedic poets to come from the heaven. In VII. 36.6b

the सरस्वती has been called सप्तथी सिन्धुमाता. सप्तथी obviously means 'the seventh' (=सप्तमी). Sāyaṇa takes सिन्धुमाता as सिन्धुरेव माता and Grassmasnn (Wörterbuch, 1520) as सिन्धूनां माता but they are both wrong for the word is a Bahuvrīhi compound having the accent in the first member and on the usual syllable. सिन्धुमाता must therefore mean 'one who has *sīndhus* (river) as her mother,' *i.e.*, 'one who is nourished and increased by other rivers.' The Sárasvatī has been called सप्तस्वसा in VI. 61.10; it was therefore the eighth. Consequently सप्तथी सिन्धुमाता here must be a loose expression for सप्तसिन्धुमाता ('having seven tributaries'). This passge may be thus considered to support the identification oi the Sárasvatī with the Indus. VII.39.5[d] "सरस्वती मरुतो मादयन्ताम् is to be put on a par with II. 30.8. In VIII. 21.17, 18 (Saubhari Kaṇva's *dānastuti* of Citra), there are no precise data, but the Bṛhaddevatā (VI. 58-62) would place the scene of action alluded to here in Kurukṣetra and the Sárasvatī would then become the Sarsuti but the identification is as uncertain as the worth of the absurd story told by Śaunaka.

(E) Passing on to the next section (Śárasvatī as the presiding goddess of the sacrifice), we find only one passage cited, *viz.*, I. 3. 10-12. By the nature of the case we cannot find here any characteristics of either river. Still महो अर्णः सरस्वती प्र चेतयति केतुना in I. 3.12 does lend some support to tne Sárasvatī-Indus-identification. In the following section (F) (Sárasvatī as the goddess of the sacrifice, invoked in conjunction with Iḍā, Mahī, etc.), Grassmann cites several passages but none of them give the characteristics of the Indus or the Sarsuti.

(G) I have now finished Sárasvatī. Sárasvant in VII. 95.2 is, as I have shown above, the lower part of the Indus. R.V. VII. 96.5 "ये ते सरस्व ऊर्मयो मधुमन्तो घृतश्चुतः।

तेभिर्नोऽवि॒ता भ॑व ॥" and VII. 96.6 "पी॒पि॒वांस॒॑ सर॑स्वत॒ः स्तन॒॑ यो वि॒श्वद॑र्शतः । भ॒क्षी॒महि॑ प्र॒जामिष॑म् ॥" clearly indicate that Sárasvant is a river and it must be the lower part of the Indus on the analogy of VII. 95.3. But the Sárasvant in I. 164.52 is obviously a 'god of the middle region' (=Apām Napāt). R.V. X. 66.5 tells us nothing.

I have discussed all the passages in the Ṛgveda containing precise data about the river Sárasvatī and have shown that the majority of them support is identification with the Indus. I have still to bring forward some more corroboratory evidence and to answer objections against the Sárasvatī-Indus-identification.

The word सर॑स्वती must have originally meant simply 'a river' (Nighaṇṭu I. 13.30) and the name may have been subsequently specialised for a particular river—the river *par excellence*. The same thing may be said of the word सिन्धु॑. It may be well assumed that the Ṛgvedic Aryans were thoroughly acquainted with the Indus and one would expect of find in the Ṛgveda frequent mention and praise of this mighty river. But we find no such thing, if "सिन्धु॑" alone represents the Indus. सिन्धु॑ in the Ṛgveda is a common name for rivers, excepting only a few passages. Had the seers very few words to say about the Indus when they were so very eloquent over a much less important stream at the other end of the Punjab which carried its waters to that Indus? Professors Macdonell and Keith ought to have pondered over this point before rejecting the Sárasvatī-Indus-identification.

As in the case of सर॑स्वती, I shall cite and discuss the passages which contain the word सिन्धु॑ as a proper name. Grassmann in his Wörterbuch (columns 1519-1520) gives a variety of meanings to the word *sindhu* and gives

complete reference to the passages that illustrate them. But for *sindhu* as a proper name for the river Indus, mentioned as simply a river or praised as a goddess, he has been able to cite only seven hymns : R.V. I. 122.6, III. 33.3, 5, V. 53.9, VIII. 20.25, VIII. 26.18, X. 64.9 and X. 75.3, 7, 8, 9. But of them the first three do not refer to the Indus. R.V. I. 122.6 is श्रुतं मे मित्रावरुणा हवेमोत श्रुतं सदने विश्वतः सीम्। श्रोतु नः श्रोतुरातिः सुश्रोतुः सुक्षेत्रा सिन्धुरद्भिः॥ This verse belongs to a Vaiśvadeva hymn. Here सिन्धुः seems to be simply the presiding goddess of rivers. Sāyaṇa is wrong in taking the word to be in the masculine—"जलाभिमानी देवः"—for it has a feminine adjective (सुक्षेत्रा). This goddess gets the adjective सुक्षेत्रा because all rivers make lands good for cultivation. Sāyaṇa takes सुक्षेत्रा to be in the accusative (=सुक्षेत्राणि) and he makes it the object of क्लेदयन् ('saturating the good fields') which he supplies. But the text as we have it does not stand in need of such assumptions and सुक्षेत्रा as a feminine adjective makes better sense.[29] The word may have been

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29. The accent in the second member ought not to create any difficulty. Bahuvrīhis with *su* as the first member often accent the second member on the final syllable (Pāṇini VI. 2-172), whereas we have here accent on the first syllable of the second member. But Bahuvrīhis with *su* which accent the usual syllable of the second member are not rare. Thus Macdonell in his Vedic Grammar (Strassburg, 1910), § 90. B d (p. 93) writes, "Possessives beginning with *su* 'well' regularly accent the second member, usually on the original syllable; *e g*.... ... *su-bhága* "well-endowed." Wackernagel in his Altindische Grammatik (Vol. II, part I, Göttingen 1905, p. 294) cites *su-áśva, su-hásta, su-séṇa, su-śṛ́ṅga*. The list may be considerably added to: but I may mention only *su-gábhasti* in R. V. V. 43-4 and VI. 49-9 and *su-tára* in VI, 60-11, VII. 97-8 and X. 167-6.

brought in simply for filling up the line and for alliteration with सुश्रोतुः. Coming to R. V. III. 33. 3, 5 : अच्छा सिन्धुं मातृतमामयासं विपाशमुर्वीं सुभगामगन्म । वत्समिव मातरा संरिहाणे समानं योनिमनु संचरन्ती ॥३॥ रमध्वं मे वचसे सोम्याय ऋतावरीरुप मुहूर्तमेवैः । प्र सिन्धुमच्छा बृहती मनीषावस्युरह्वे कुशिकस्य सूनुः ॥५॥, we find that *sindhu* simply means 'a river.' This hymn, as is well known, contains a dialogue betwee the two rivers Vipāś and Śutudrī and Viśvāmitra who wishes to cross them with the Bharatas. The सिन्धुम् in verse 3 obviously refers to the Śutudrī (which is not mentioned by name in 3 a, whereas Vipāś is so mentioned in 3 b). The सिन्धुम् in verse 5 too must refer to either of these two streams (probably to the Sutudri the more important of the two) or to both. One therefore wonders how Grassmann could cite these passages for 'Sindhu' as "Eigenname des Indus-Flusses." But in his Translation (Vol. I, p. 80), he has quite sensibly taken the word to mean simply a river in both these verses. R. V. V. 53-9 "मा वो रसानितभा कुभा क्रुमुर्मा वः सिन्धुर्नि रीरमत् । मा वः परिष्ठात्सरयुः पुरीषिण्यस्ने इत्सुन्नमस्तु वः ॥," however, most certainly mentions the Indus as सिन्धुः for मा वः is repeated before सिन्धुः and सिन्धुः" must be therefore a specific river here and cannot be adjective to क्रुमुः in the preceding foot, as अनितभा[30] is to रसा and पुरीषिणी may be[31] to सरयुः. R. V. VIII. 20-25, VIII. 26-18, X. 64-9 and X. 75 undoubtedly use the word सिन्धु as the name of a particular river (obviously the Indus).

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30. Anitabhā should not be taken as the name of a distinct river as Max Müller (S.B.E. XXXII, 323) and Macdonell and Keith (Vedic Index, II, p. 209, ll. 18-20) have done; for the word occurs nowhere else in the Ṛgveda or elsewhere as the name of a river.

31. But see below for another suggestion about this पुरीषिणी.

But Macdonell and Keith (Vedic Index II, 450) cite R. V. I. 126-1, IV. 55-3, VII. 95-1, VIII. 12-3, VIII. 25-14, in addition to I. 122-6, V. 53-9, VIII. 20-25, VIII. 26-18 and X. 64-9 as mentioning the Indus by the name of सिन्धुं. That R. V. I. 126-1 : "अमंन्दान्स्तोमान्प्र भंरे मनीषा सिन्धावधिं क्षियतो भाव्यस्यं । यो मे सहस्रममिमीत सवानतूर्तो राजा श्रवं इच्छमांनः ॥" refers to the Indus cannot be doubted, especially because the ewes of Gandhāra are mentioned in the concluding verse of the hymn. But by no means as certain are IV. 54-6: "ये ते विरहंन्त्सवितः सवासो दिवेदिवे सौभंगमासुवन्ति । इन्द्रो द्यावां-पृथिवी सिन्धुरद्भिरांदित्यैर्नो अदितिः शर्म यंसत् ॥४।५४।६॥" "प्र पस्त्याऽमदितिं सिन्धुमर्कैः स्वस्तिमीले सख्याय देवीम् । उभे यथा नो अहंनी निपात उषासानक्ता करतामदंब्धे ॥४।५५।३॥," where सिन्धुं may well mean the goddess presiding over rivers. R. V. VII. 95-1 has been quoted and discussed in connection with the identification of the Sárasvati and सिन्धुः is a common noun there, obviously meaning 'the river,' and refers to the सरस्वती in the second line. It is therefore much to be regretted that Professors Macdonell and Keith have understood the word as a proper noun meaning the Indus.[32] In VIII. 12-13: "येन सिन्धुं महीरपो रथाँ इव प्रचोदयः । पन्थामृतस्य यातवे तमीमहे ॥," *sindhu* most probably means rivers in general for the feat described here is that of Indra[33] and Indra is everywhere[34] said to set free the rivers to flow. R. V. VIII. 25-14 "उत नः सिन्धुरपां तन्मरुतस्तदश्विनां । इन्द्रो विष्णुर्मीढ्वांसः सजोषसः ॥" too probably refers not to the Indus but either to rivers in general or to the sea.[35] R. V. VIII. 25-12 "अघ्नते विष्णवे वयमरिष्यन्तः सुदानवे । श्रुधि स्वयावन्त्सिन्धो पूर्वचित्तये ॥", contains

32. Vedic Index, II, article on Sindhu, note 3.

33. The hymn is addressed to Indra.

34. Compare II. 12-12 अवासृजः सर्तवे सप्तसिन्धून्.

35. Compare Grassmann, Wörterbuch, column 1519, meanings 11 and 13 for Sindhu.

nothing that would compel us to believe that the Indus is meant by सिन्धो.

In his Vedic Reader for Students (p. 103) Professor Macdonell renders "त्वां गिरः सिन्धुमिवावनीर्महीरापृणन्ति शवसा वर्धयन्ति च" (R. V. V. 11-5 c and d) by "The songs fill thee, as the great rivers the Indus, with power, and strengthen thee." But it is not at all necessary to bring in the Indus here. सिन्धुः here can very easily mean the ocean; for the idea of the river or waters filling the sea I may refer to R. V. III. 35-3 "समन्या यन्त्युप यन्त्यन्याः समानमूर्वं नद्यः पृणन्ति" where Macdonell himself understands ऊर्वम् to mean the ocean. Grassmann (Wõrterbuch and Ubersetzung) gives सिन्धुम् in V. 51-5 the meaning of 'the sea.'

We thus see that in the whole Ṛgveda only half a dozen passages can be certainly cited as referring to the Indus by the name of Síndhu, *viz*., I. 126.1, V. 53 9 VIII. 20-25, VIII. 26-18, X. 64-9 and X. 75. Is this not remarkable, when there are so many references to the river Sárasvatī? The Indus as सिन्धु is praised in only one complete hymn (X. 75), whereas Sárasvatī or Sárasvant are sung in at least three entire hymns, VI. 61, VII. 95 and VII. 96, all belonging to an earlier age. But if we take Sárasvatī (in the older portion of the Ṛgveda) and Síndhu (in old as well as later portion of the Ṛgveda) both as meaning the Indus we find a very large number of references to this important river. I now quote below R. V. X. 75 a famous hymn in praise of the Síndhu (Indus) and show that the description can be closely paralleled by earlier descriptions of the Sárasvatī (=Indus, according to what I have just said). The hymn is, according to the Anukramaṇī, by one Praiyamedha-living-on-the-Indus and runs thus:—

प्र सु व आपो महिमानमुत्तमं कारुर्वोचाति सदने विवस्वतः ।
प्र सप्तसप्त त्रेधा हि चक्रमुः प्र सृत्वरीणामति सिन्धुरोजसा ॥१॥
प्र तेऽरदद्वरुणो यातवे पथः सिन्धो यद्वाजाँ अभ्यद्रवस्त्वम् ।
भूम्या अधि प्रवता यासि सानुना यदेषामग्रं जगतामिरज्यसि ॥२॥
दिवि स्वनो यतते भूम्योपर्यनन्तं शुष्ममुदियर्ति भानुना ।
अभ्रादिव प्र स्तनयन्ति वृष्टयः सिन्धुर्यदेति वृषभो न रोरुवत् ॥३॥
अभि त्वा सिन्धो शिशुमिन्न मातरो वाश्रा अर्षन्ति पयसेव धेनवः ।
राजेव युध्वा नयसि त्वमित्सिचौ यदासामग्रं प्रवतामिनक्षसि ॥४॥
इमं मे गङ्गे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता परुष्ण्या ।
असिक्न्या मरुद्वृधे वितस्तयार्जीकीये शृणुह्या सुषोमया ॥५॥
तृष्टामया प्रथमं यातवे सजूः सुसर्त्वा रसया श्वेत्या त्या ।
त्वं सिन्धो कुभया गोमतीं क्रुमुं मेहत्न्वा सरथं याभिरीयसे ॥६॥
ऋजीत्येनी रुशती महित्वा परि ज्रयांसि भरते रजांसि ।
अदब्धा सिन्धुरपसामपस्तमाश्वा न चित्रा वपुषीव दर्शता ॥७॥
स्वश्वा सिन्धुः सुरथा सुवासा हिरण्ययी सुकृता वाजिनीवती ।
ऊर्णावती युवतिः सीलमावत्युताधि वस्ते सुभगा मधुवृधम् ॥८॥
सुखं रथं युयुजे सिन्धुरश्विनं तेन वाजं सनिषदस्मिन्नाजौ ।
महान् ह्यस्य महिमा पनस्यतेऽदब्धस्य स्वयशसो विरप्शिनः ॥९॥७५॥

In the first verse the Síndhu has been said to have outstripped the other rivers "सृत्वरीणामति" (चक्राम or क्रमि understood) which can be paralleled by उत्तरा सखिभ्यः for the Sárasvatī in VII. 95. 4. Coming to the second verse we find भूम्या अधि प्रवताः यासि सानुना 'you flow down towards the earth by the sides of mountains (=mountain-gorges)' and this at on a reminds us of VI. 61. 2 "इयं शुष्मेभिर्बिसखा इवारुजत् सानु गिरीणां तविषेभिरूर्मिभिः, etc.," and V. 43-11 "आ नो दिवो बृहतः पर्वतादा सरस्वती यजता गन्तु यज्ञम्." The third verse seems to echo VI. 61-8, "यस्या अनन्तो अह्रुतस्त्वेषश्चरिष्णुरर्णवः । अमश्चरति रोरुवत् ॥" The first half of the fourth verse "अभि त्वा सिन्धो शिशुमिन्न मातरो वाश्रा अर्षन्ति पयसेव धेनवः" has its parallel in "सरस्वती (सप्तथी) सिन्धुमाता" of VII. 36-6 which I have explained at length. Verses 5 and 6 described only the eastern

and western tributaries of the Indus [36] and we need not touch them. In the seventh verse the Síndhu has been called अपसाम् अपस्तमा 'most active to the active onces' and the same adjective has been giveu to the Sárasvatī in VI. 61-13. The latter half of verse 8 "ऊर्णावती युवतिः सीलमावत्युताधिवस्ते सुभगा मधुवृधम्" may to be reminiscent of VII. 96. 5 'ये ते सरस्व ऊर्मयो मधुमन्तो घृतश्चुतः । तेभिर्नोऽविता भव ॥." For the 'हिरण्ययी' in the first half we may cite "हिरण्यवर्तनिः" in VI. 61-7. The concluding verse too may be partly paralleled be VII. 95-3 "स वाजिनं मघवद्भ्यो दधाति वि सातये तन्वं मामृजीत."
In conclusion I may point out that in X. 75, the Síndhu has received both feminine and masculine adjectives, *e.g.*, रुशती, अदब्धा, etc., by the side of अस्य अदब्धस्य विरप्शिनः and this is exactly similar to सरस्वती in tne feminine and सरस्वान् in the masculine appearing together in one single hymn (VII. 96 and VII. 95). Noun of these agreements *singly* prove anything but their *cumulative effect* is suggestive. Can it be denied therefore that we get some corroborative evidence for the Sárasvatī-Indus-identification from R. V. X. 75?

I may now begin to answer the objection raised against this identification. I shall "प्रधानमल्लनिबर्हणन्यायेन" c onfine my-

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36. Of course the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā are not tributaries of the Indus. But as all the other rivers mentioned carry their waters directly or through other streams to the Indus, may we not think that our poet who lived on the Indus, knew not precisely where the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā discharged their waters ? But the Jamna was really at one time a tributary of the Indus (Keane's, Asia, Vol. II, 62) and Praiyamedha may have been living before its course was diverted to the Ganges. It is only about the Gaṅgā that he may have made a mistake.

self to what Professors Macdonell and Keith[37] have said. They write :—

"The insistence on the divine character of the river is seen in the very hymn[38] which refers to it as the support of the five tribes, and corresponds with the later sacredness. Moreover thal hymn alludes to the Pārāvatas, a people shown by the later evidence of the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa[39] to have been in the east, a very long way from their original home, if Sarasvatī mean the Indus. Again, the Pūrus, who were settled on the Sarasvatī,[40] could with great difficulty be located in the far west. Moreover, the five tribes might easily be held to be on the Sarasvatī, when they were, as they seem to have been, the western neighbours of the Bharatas in Kurukṣetra, and the Sarasvatī could easily be regarded as the boundary of the Punjab in that sense. Again, the 'seven rivers' in one passage[41] clearly designate a district; it is

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37. Vedic Index, Vol. II, pp. 436-437.

38. R.V. II. 41. 16 (devitame).

39. See Pārāvata and *cf.* Bṛsaya.

40. R.V. VII. 95, 96. Ludwig, *op. cit.*, 3, 175, admits that the Indus cannot be meant here. See Hillebrandt, Vedische Mythologie 1, 115.

41. R.V. VIII. 24-27. The connexion of Sarasvatī and the seven rivers is rather vague. In R.V. VIII. 54.4, Sarasvatī and the seven rivers are separately invoked, and in VI. 61. 10. 12, she is referred to as 'seven-sistered *(saptasvasā)*. In VII. 36. 6, she is called the 'seventh,' which makes the Sarasvatī one of the rivers. If the former passages are to be treated as precise, then *saptasvasā* may be considered to show that the Sarasvatī was outside the river system (which would then be Indus, Kubhā and the five rivers of the Punjeb, see Sapta-Sindhavaḥ); but the expres ion may be loosely meant for one of seven rivers.

most probable that they are not the five rivers with the Indus and the Kubhā (Cabul river), but the five rivers, the Indus and the Sarasvatī. Nor is itdifficult to see why the river is said to flow to the sea: either the Vedic poet had nevcr followed the course of the river to its end, or the river did actually penetrate the desert either compoetely or for a long distance, and only in the Brāhmaṇa period was its dtsappearance in the desert found out. It is said, indeed, in the Vājasaneyī Saṃhitā[42] that the five rivers go to the Sarasvatī, but this passage is not only late (as the use of the word Deśa shows), but it does not say that the five rivers meant are those of the Punjab. Moreover, the passage has neither a parallel in the other Saṃhitas, nor can it possibly be regarded as an early production; if it is late it must refer to the later Sarasvatī."

In R. V. II. 41. 17 all men (विश्वा आयूंषि—Macdonell and Keith's 'five tribes'?) are said to be supported by the Sárasvatī and in the previous verse the river has been called the most motherly and the highest goddess. But how does that compel us to believe that the river is the Sarsuti? There is nothing in the Ṛgveda which precludes us from holding that in the earliest period, the Indus was considered as a particularly sacred river. A sacred character does attach to the Síndhu described in R. V. X. 75; *of.* महान् ह्यस्य महिमा पनस्यतेऽदंब्धस्य स्वयंशसो विरप्शिनंः, 9 c and d. The Ṛgvedic life was a riverside one: the Vedic Aryans seem to have been all settled on river banks. Naturally they looked upon all rivets as sacred. This habit is also seen among the ancient Iranians who paid honour to the

42. XXXIV. 11.

Ardvi-Sūra-Anāhita and among later Hindus[43] who have all their sacred places on river banks. The Indus being the biggest river was the most beneficent stream and naturelly the Vedic Aryans would call her *ambitamā*, *nadītamā* and *devitamā*. The banks of the Indus cannot today boast of vegetation, but they have not always been treeless. "There was a time when forests grew on the Indus—forest woth timber sufficient to enable Alexander Great to construct the first Indus flotilla."[44] Grains too may have grown there extensively in Vedic times. I therefore see no difficulty in holding that along witn the name Sárasvatí, the sacred character too of the Indus was in later times transferred to the Sarsutī of Kurukṣetra.

Nor do I see any force in the objection raised by Macdonell and Keith on the ground of the alleged allusion to the Pārāvatas in connexion with the Sàrasvetí. The reference to the Pārāvatas is not in II. 41 but in VI. 61. 2 where we have पारावतघ्नीमवसे सुवृक्तिभिः सरस्वतीमाविवासेम धीतिभिः. Macdonell and Keith say, as the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa shows the Pārāvatas to be living on the Yamunā, the Indus cannot be a destroyer of them and hence the पारावतघ्नी सरस्वती must be the Sarsuti of Kurukṣetra, not very far from the Jumna, I do not see how it may be scientific to interpret the Ṛgveda in the light of the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa. Also, how do the Professors become sure that there is a reference to a people known as the 'Pārāvatas' in VI. 61. 25. The word पारावत occurs only in four places of the Ṛgveda, *viz.*, V. 52. 11,

43. Before beginning our *pujā*, we purify the water by muttering the *mantra* गङ्गे च यमुने चैव गोदावरि सरस्वति । नर्मदे सिन्धु कावेरि जलेऽस्मिन् सन्निधिं कुरु ॥, manifesting our veneration for rivers.

44. Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. I, p. 28.

61. 2, VIII, 34. 18 and VIII. 89. 6. Grassmann in his Wörterbudh (column 807) and Uebersetsung (Vol. I, pp, 203, 289 561, 566), gives the word the meaning of 'coming from a distance' in the first and last passages, deriving it from *parāvat* 'distance' and the meaning of 'a particular people' only in VIII. 34. 18. He renders पारावतघ्नी in VI. 61. 2 by 'striking the distant (foemen or demons)., Similarly Roth in the Sanskrit Wõrterbuch. Of course the Pārāvata in VIII. 34. 18. is perhaps a tribal name of the donor Vasurocis praised in the hymn and "पारावत यत्पुरुसंभृत वस्वपावृंणोः शरभाय ऋषिबन्धवे" in VIII. 89, 6 too probabiy refers to the wealth of a Pārāvata, as Sāyaṇa understands the passage, though Roth and Grassmann make पारावतम् here simply an adjective from परावत्. But it is altogether certain that in V. 52.11 "अधा नरो न्योहतेऽधा नियुत ओहते । अधा पारावता इति चित्रा रूपाणि दर्श्या ।।" we have a word which is to be derived from *parāvat*. पारावताः here are the Maruts. How can theso be connected with a particular people? The Maruts are the *devatā* of the hymn. In the first quarter of this verse, the 'men' (heroes) ore faid to 'blow hither' (*i.e.*, to the place of the sacrifice); this fdea is repeated in the second foot where नरः is substituted by नियुतः ('gathered together') and the repetition of the conjunction अध and the want of any verb in the third foot show that there is a further repetition and the verb ओहते is to be supplied from ths first and second feet. पारावताः is thus an adjective to the Maruts, which is parallel to the नरः in the first line and नियुतः in the scoud. Sāyaṇa's rendering दूरदेशसम्बन्धिनः[45] is the only possible ond.[46] The verse may be thus translated line by line,

45. Similarly Grassmann, "die man aus der Ferne ruft."

46. That पारावताः here means 'those who have come from a distance' is made highly probable by R. V. V. 53.8 आ यात मरुतो

Now the heroes blow hither,
Now in bands they come hither,
Now (they come who are) of distant realms,
Brilliant aspects (have they) worth the sight.

I have no hesitation in rejecting Griffith's translation (particularly of the third line): "To this the Heroes will attend, well do their teams attend to this. Visible are their varied forms. *Behold, they are Pārāvatas.*"

We thus see that there is at least one passage in which the word पारावत does not mean a particular people. It is just possible that in VI. 61. 2 too there is no reference to any Pārāvatas. पारावतघ्नी might well mean 'dashing from a distance.' This description very nicely suits the Indus 'Dashing against the rocks' too might do if Hillebrandt's suggestion[47] about the origin of the word *pārāvata* be accepted. Yāska in his Nirukta (II. 24) has commented on this verse and has rendered पारावतघ्नीम् by पारावारघातिनीम् 'dashing against the sides.' There is nothing in the context thet militates against this interpretation but there may be etymological difficulties against accepting it; 'dashing from a distance' will present no such difficulty. Hence we cannot be sure that a people called Pārāvatas are referred to in VI. 61.2. Even if it be true that the poet calls the Sárasvatī the killer or overthrower of the Pārāvatas in verse 2 of the hymn, as he has called her the consumer of the Paṇis in verse 1 and has asked her to destroy the progency of the sorcerer Bṛsaya in verse 3, we need not locate the Pārāvatas at a distance from

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दिव आन्तरिक्षादमादुत । मावं स्थान परावतः and V, 61,1 ।। के ष्ठां नरः श्रेष्ठंतमा य एकंएक आयय । परमस्यांः परावतं ।। where the Maruts are said to 'come from a distance.'

47. See Macdonell ane Keith, Vedic Index, I, 512.

the Indus. I have said above that R. V. VIII. 34. 18 and VIII. 89. 6 refer to a tribe known as Pārāvatas. In VIII, 34, Nīpātithi Kāṇva sings the praise of Indra and coucludes with a *dānastuti* of the Pārāvata Chief (?) Vasurocis[48] who had given him a thousand fleet and strong horses. Surely we would expect the finest breed of horses on the banks of the Indus. Would we therefore be far wrong in locating the Pārāvatas of R. V. VIII. 34. 18, somewhere near thc Indus ? I do not see why we should go to the Pañcavimśa Brāhmaṇa for the localisation of the country of the Ṛgvedic Pārāvatas, when it is certain that in the Brāhmaṇa period many tribes had left their old Ṛgvedic homes and had migrated further into the interior of India.[49]

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48. I believe that वसुरोचिषः in verse 16 and पारावतस्य in verse 18 refer to the same person and that the former is the personal personal name of the donor and the latter his tribal name.

49. Incidentally I may mention however that Hiuen Tsang in Book XI of his Travels, gives a description of 23 countries mostly in the order of his travel, among which comes PO-FA-TO which Beal Sanskritises as Parvata. The fifteenth country is SIN-TU (Sindhu), the sixteenth MU-LO-SAN-P'U-LU (Mūlasthānapura =Multan) and the seventeenth is our PO-FA-TO. The eighteenth is 'O-TIEN-P'O-CHI-LO (Atyanabakala ?). After concluding his description of the land PO-FA-TO, Hiuen Tsang writes, 'leaving the Sindh country, and going south-west 1500 or 1600 li, we come to the Kingdom of 'O-TIEN-P'O-CHI-LO." By this he clearly means that SIN-TU proper, MU LO-SAN-P'U-Lu and PO-FA-TO are in the Sindhu country. The PO-FA-TO is thus near the Indus. Beal Buddhist Records of the Western World, Vol. II, p. 275, n 87) points out that Pāṇini in IV. 2. 143 ("पर्वताच्च" coming immediately before "विभाषाऽमनुष्ये" ४।२।१४४) probably refers to the country of पर्वत and certainly reads the name पर्वत in the तक्षशिलादि class (' सिन्धु-तक्षशिलादिभ्योऽणञौ" ४।३।९३).

The passage from the Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa (IX. 4. 10-11) which refers to the Pārāvatas is "तौरश्रवसे कार्य्ये ॥१०॥ तुरश्रवमश्च वै पारावतानाञ्च सोमौ संसुतावास्तां तत एते तुरश्रवाः सामनी अपश्यत् ताभ्याम् अस्मा इन्द्रः शाल्मलिना यमुनाया हव्यं निरावहत् । यत्तौरश्रवसे भवतो हव्यम् एवैषां वृङ्क्ते ॥११॥." The context makes it certain that both Turaśravas and the Pārāvatas lived or sacrificed on the Yamunā. But should we draw any argument from this passage for the home of the Ṛgvedic Pārāvatas? Besides, is it certain that in the Ṛgveda too (VIII. 34, and VIII. 86) पारावत meant an individual tribe ? It would be simpler to conceive that पारावत् of R. V. VIII. 34. 18 and VIII. 89. 6 too came from परावत् and meant "*any* distant or frontier tribe." The word has the same accent in VIII. 34. 18 and VIII. 89. 6 as in V. 52. 11 and it is therefore most likely that in all the three places it is derived from the same stem. In the Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa too, it is possible, no individual tribe is meant but 'the distant people.' This is made likely by what follows almost immediately after—"विहव्यं शस्यम् ॥१३॥ जमदग्नेश्च वा ऋषीणाञ्च सोमौ संसुतावास्तां तत एतज्जमदग्निर्विहव्यम् अपश्यत् तमिन्द्र उपावर्तत । यद्विहव्यं होता शंसतीन्द्रमेवैषां वृङ्क्ते ॥१४॥," the only passage in the Pañcaviṃsa Brāhmaṇa which gives a parallel to the one quoted above. Here ṛisis are mentioned in general terms as rivals of Jamadagni and no particular sages are mentioned. In P. B. IX. 4. 11 too 'the distant people, the frontier tribes' may have been mentioned instead of an individual tribe. The 'distant people' are said to have sacrificed on Yamunā but that river may have then formed the eastern boundary of Aryan settlements and peoples on its banks could well have been characterised as 'distant people or frontier tribes.' In support of my guess, I may refer to Pañcaviṃśa Brāhmaṇa XXV. 13. 4, "स य आग्नेयेनाष्टाकपालेन दक्षिणेन तीरेण दृषद्वत्याः शम्या परासाति त्रिप्लक्षान्

प्रति यमुनामवभृथमभ्यवैति तदेव मनुष्येभ्यस्तिरोभवति ॥" in the section on the Dārṣadvata Satra and to the corresponding portion of the Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra (X. 19. 8-15)—"दृषद्वत्या दक्षिणेन तीरेणयात् ॥८॥ तस्याः प्रभव्यमम प्रात्यैतयेष्टचेष्ट्वा त्रिप्लक्षावहरण प्रति यमुनामवभृथमभ्यवेयात् ॥९॥ यत्र क्व च ततो दूरे यमुना स्यात् तत्रैतयेष्टचेष्ट्वा स्वय साम गायन्नवभृथमभ्यवेयादगायन् वा ॥१०॥ प्रव्रजिष्यतोऽयनमिदं मन्य इति धानञ्जप्यस्तदेव मनुष्येभ्यस्तिरोभवति ॥११॥ न ग्रामं पुनरेयादितीव ॥१२॥ स्वर्ग लोकमाक्रमते ॥१३॥ व्यावर्तते श्रेयान् भवतीति वा ॥१४॥ उदकान्तर्द्धानाद्वा यथा सरजस इति ॥१५॥" It is probably because the Yamunā then formed the eastern boundary of Aryan habitation that an *avabhṛtha* in its waters could be utilised for the Dārṣadvata Satra, a ceremony which ensured 'disappearance from the human world' and attainment of heaven. The Pārāvatas on the banks of this Yamunā might be therefore simply 'a frontier people.' पारावत would thus become a relative term, able to denote any distant tribe and in any direction. पारावतघ्नीम् in R. V VI. 61. 2, does not in all probability refer to any tribe at all, but even if it does, these Pārāvatas may have been a tribe or tribes living at a distance from the habitation of the Bhāradvājas.

The Pūrus are mentioned in R. V. VII. 96. 2 as living on both the banks of the Sárasvatī. I cannot understand how this goes against identifying the Sárasvatī. of this passage wlth the Indus. Professors Macdonell and Keith say that it is difficult to place the Pūrus in the extreme west, but why? The Pūrus were one of the confederates against whom Sudās fought in the famous battle of ten kings on the banks of the Ravi. This Ravi is just midway betweeu the Indus and the eastern Sarsuti and the Pūrus living on the eastern bank of the Indus may well have marched thence to fight with Sudās. In this battle ten kings belonging probably to ten different tribes fought against Sudās and some at least of them may have come

from a distance simply for the sake of this engagement. I shall have to return to this point again when I shall show the connexion of the Pūrus with the Bharatas and the later Kurus. It will be evident from what I shall say that the Bharatas did not always occupy the country of Kurukṣetra and that in the time of the earlier portion of the Ṛgveda they lived in the western Punjab. The five tribes could therefore easily be their neighbours in those days though these tribes lived on the Indus (R. V. VI. 6I. I2).

The सप्तसिन्धवः of VIII. 24. 27 undoubtedly meant a country and evidently the land which is now known as the Punjab, but what reason ii there for supposing that the seven rivers which gave the land this name were the Indus, the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, tht Beas, the Sutlej and the Sarsuti ? The Vedic poets were acquainted with and have mentioned many rivers besides these, in the Punjab and outsibe the Punjab. Why should we therefore exclude the Suvāstu (Swat), the Kubhā (Kabul), the Krumu (Kurrum), the Gomatī (Gomal), the Sarayū (identity uncertain), the Marudvṛdhā (Maroowardhwan), Dṛsadvatī and the Yamunā from the list of rivers? The "seven rivers" are often mentioned in connexion with Indra's famous feat of killing Vṛtra and "letting loose the waters." I think 'seven' is in all these passages merely a traditional number. Attempts to determine what particular tivers in the Punjab made up this number are therefore only "काकदन्तगणना."

I do not deny that in the time of the Ṛgvēda, the Sarsuti reached the sea (the Arabian Sea or the Rann of Cutch); but, as I have shown above, my identification of the Sárasvatī of the older portion of the Ṛgveda with

the Indus does not rest on the ground of its reaching the sea. On a former occasion,[50] I had claimed support for my Sársvatī-Indus-identification in Vājasaneyi-Saṃhitā XXXIV, 11: पञ्चं नद्यः सरस्वतीमपियन्ति सस्रोतसः । सरस्वती तु पञ्चधा सो देशेऽभवत् सरित् ॥. But this is undoubtedly a very late *mantra* and I am now convinced that there is no reference to the Indus here—this is not for the occurrence of the late word *deśa* but on account of the undoubted fact that in the period of the Yajurveda and the Brāhmṇas the centre of Vedic culture and Aryan habitation had shifted to the Madhyadeśa and the little stream in Kurukṣetra must have been then the Sárasvatī of sacred memory. I therefore now propose to take the verse to mean, "the five (sacred) rivers[51] of similar stream enter into (*i.e.* impart their sanctity to) the Sárasvatī (=the Sarsuti) which (though flowing in a different land possesses the sanctity of even those rivers and) becomes the five-time sacred river of the land (Kurukṣetra or Madhyadeśa)." For a similar idea, compare Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa XXV, 13, 3, where Kurukṣetra is said to be equivalent to the whole world.

Professors Macdonell and Keith[52] have rightly seen a contradiction between the two adjectives of the Sárasvatī *Saptásvasā* (VI, 61, 10) and *saptáthī sindhumātā* (VII, 36, 6). They take the first to be a loose expression. But as the adjective seven-sistered is more frequent, it would be more proper to take rather the second expression ('the seventh of the rivers') to be loosely used. I have already

50. Calcutta Review for May 1922, p. 319.

51. Probably the five rivers of the Punjab, but there is some uncertainty.

52. Vedic Index, Vol. II, p. 436, note 20.

discussed these passages and I need not repeat what I have said. The Sárasvatī would therefore be best taken as outside the system of 'seven rivers' but I do not want to press the point. As regards the specification of these seven rivers I do not venture upon a guess and I prefer, as I have just said, to take 'seven' to be a merely traditional number. Compare X. 75, where Praiyamedha living on the Sindhu characterises the "waters" as moving in groups of seven (स॒प्तसं॑प्त).

I have now come to the end of this section. I have shown that in the earlier portions of the Ṛgveda, particularly in Maṇḍalas VI and VII, "Sárasvatī" meant the Indus and in the X Maṇḍala it means the Sarsuti in Kurukṣetra. As the Aryans advanced from the Indus basin, crossed the Punjab rivers and occupied the Madhyadeśa, they gave to the river in Kurukṣetra parallel to the Dṛṣadvatī the name of Sárasvatī, which in earlier times meant the Indus. The Indus was first called "Sárasvatī" and occasionally also "Síndhu" but since the little stream in Madhyadeśa came to appropriate to itself that old name, the Indus went by the name of 'Sindhu' alone. The Sarsuti was thus the Eastern Sárasvatī. The St. Petersburg Dictionary states that it did often have the adjective पूर्वा or प्राची which, if true, would support my view.[53] That the Indus was once known os the "Sárasvatī"

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53. I find in a Gujarati article in the "Gujrat" for Aswin, 1979 (Saṃvat), the following Sanskrit verse, quoted probably from some Purāṇa text, which I cannot trace to its source :

रुद्रावर्त्ते कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीस्थले पुष्करेऽपि वा ।
प्रभासे पश्चिमे तीर्थे पश्च प्राची सरस्वती ॥

The verse shows that the name Sarasvatī has not been confined to one single stream.

is also proved by the fact that a province to its west (Arachosia) is given the name of Haraxvaiti in the Avesta (Vendidad I, 13) and Harauvati in the Ancient Persian Inscriptions (Behistun, I. 17, III. 55, 56. 72, 76, Darius Persepolis e 17, Darius Nakṣ-i-Rustam 24).

II

In this part I shall cite some other cases of transference of river names. First comes the Gomatī. According to Grassmann गोमती as a proper name for a river occurs only in R. V. VIII, 24, 30 aud X. 75, 6. I have quoted in full the seventy-fifth hymn of Tenth Maṇḍala and it is quite clear that the Gomatī there is a western tributary of the Indus and Professors Macdonell and Keith[54] too have not doubted its identificaticn with the Gomal. This Gomatī then is not the river Gumti in the United povinces. What reason is there for believing with Geldner that the Gomatī of R. V. VIII, 24, 30 should be the Gumtī? Professors Macdonell and Keith have said, "This accords well with the later use of the name and with the general probability of the river here intendebeing in Kurukṣetra, as the centre of Vedic civilization." But the Gomatī of R. V. X, 75, 6, is surely not the same as the later Gomatī (Gumti). The general probability mentioned by the Professors is purely subjective and has little basis in facts. It is only the civilization of the later Saṃhitās probably and of the Brāhmaṇas most certainly centred round Kurukṣetra. Professors Macdonell and Keith seem to find reference to the river Gomatī in a third passage of the Ṛgveda, *viz.*, V, 61. 19. "एष क्षेति रथवीरिमघवा गोमतीरनु । पर्वतेष्वपश्रितः ॥" Here both the accent (acute on the first syllable) and

54. Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 238.

inflection (feminine accusative plural) of गोमती: are against this supposition. Of course it has been proposed to read गोमतीम् but one feels a strong prejudice against such emendations and I cannot find it in me to reject both the Saṃhitā and Pada texts. The word is best left as it is. Professors Oldenberg[55] writes, "Change of accent as well as change of case-ending raises a doubt where the origion of the text-corruption is obsure. In spite of the force in the striking resemblance with VIII, 24, 30 (अपश्रित: in both the places), should not one support here गोमती: having regard to IV, 21, 4?" गोमती: in V, 61, 19 cannot therefore mean the river गोमती. Sāyaṇa renders the word by उदकवतीर्नदी: If that meaning is not liked, surely गोबहुला भूमी: which suits the context well will be acceptable. The poet (Syāvāśva Ātreya) expresses in verse 10 his gratitude for a gift of hundred cows each received from Purumīlha, Taranta and Vaidadaśvi[56] and has also already (verses 5-9) poured forth his gratitude for similar gifts from an unnamed lady.[57] In verses 17 and 18, एतं मे स्तोममूर्म्ये दार्भ्याय परा वह । गिरो देवि रथीरिव ॥ उय मे वोचतानिति सुतंहोमे रथवीतौ । न कामो अप वेति मे ॥ our poet says that his wants are not fulfilled and wishes tnat Dālbhya Rathavīti should be informed of this. Would it be wrong therefore to find in the following verse (closing one in the hymn) a wistful reference to the plentiful cows in the mountain abodes[58] of Rathavīti some of which he may graciously send

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55. Ṛgveda, textkritische und exegetische Noten I, 355.

56. It seems best to take these three as three distinct persons.

57. Śāśīyasī may not be her name nor is it certain that she was Tarantā's wife.

58. Little importance should be attached to the story in the Bṛhaddevata V, 50-80, told in this connexion.

down to the needy Śyāvāśva? I may mention here that Professor Oldenberg notices a play on the word गोमतीम् in VIII, 24, 30.[59] It thus appears to me that no river called Gomatī is mentioned in V, 61, 19. The गोमती in X, 75, 6 certainly and in VIII, 24, 30, probably[60] is the Gomal. But in later times a different river comes to be called the Gomaiī.

A similar transference of epithet is also found in the case of the Yamùnā. The name occurs thrice in the Ṛgveda, *viz.*, in V, 52, 17, VII, 18, I9 and X, 75,5. In the last passage the river mentioned is obviously the Jumna; its position in the list leaves no doubt on the point. But in VIII, 8,19, Hopkins[61] thinks the Yamunā is either the Paruṣnī or "the double channel of the upper Ravi" and though Macdoneil and Keith[62] have rejected the view I cannot help following him. In VII, 13, 18-19, Bheda is said to have been killed and stripped of all his treasures, on the Yamúnā and the Ajas, Yakṣus are said to have suffered there a great massacre of horses. The poet has been so long describing the *Dāśarājna* battle on the Paruṣṇī (the Ravi). It is easy to suppose that he has suddenly jumped to the description of another victory achieved by Sudās hundreds of miles away? Professors Macdonell and Keith have supposed[63] that Bheda was not one of the opponents of Sudās in the Dāśarājña battle. That immediately after mentioning the miraculous character of Sudās' single-handed victory

59. Ṛgveda, textkritische und exegetische Noten II, 98.

60. I would read in the mention of the land of seven rivers in verse 27 a support for the western localisation of the Gomatī.

61. India, Old and New, p. 52.

62. Vedic Index, II, pp. 186-87.

63. Vedic Index, II, pp. 110-111.

over the ten kings in verse 17, Bheda is mentioned in verses 18 and 19 makes it more than probable that he was one of these combatants. Besides, R. V. VII, 33, 3, "एवेन्नु कं सिन्धुमेभिस्ततारेवेन्नु कं भेदमेभिर्जघान। एवेन्नु कं दाशराज्ञे सुदासं प्रावदिन्द्रो ब्रह्मणा वो वसिष्ठाः॥" makes it altogether certain that Bheda was vanquished in the Dāśarājña battle. सिन्धुमेभिस्ततार clearly alludes to Sudās' escape from the flood which his Dāśarájña enemies had expected would overpower him and Sāyaṇa is certainly right in citing here VII, 18, 5 "अर्णांसि चित्पप्रथाना सुदास इन्द्रो गाधान्यकृणोत्सुपारा। शर्धन्तं शिम्युमुचथस्य नव्यः शापं सिन्धूनामकृणोदशस्तीः॥" R. V. VII, 33, 3 show beyond doubt that Bheda was one of the participators in the Dāśarājña leage and lost his life in that battle. But that battle was fought on the Paruṣṇī. The Yamùnā on which Bheda was killed according to VII, 18, 18 was therefore either this same Páruṣṇī or a river that joined it very near the place of battle (in which case we may suppose that the battle was fought between the two rivers). That Yakṣu[64] is said in VII, 18, 6, "पुरोला इत्तुर्वशो यक्षुरासीद्राये मत्स्यासो निशिता अपीव। श्रुष्टिं चक्रुर्भृगवो द्रुह्यवश्च सखा सखायमतरद्विषूचोः॥," to have been entangled along with Turvaśa in the Dāṣarājña engagement and his people the Yakṣus are said in VII, 18, 19 "आवदिन्द्रं यमुना तृत्सवश्च प्रात्र भेदं सर्वताता मुषायत्। अजासश्च शिग्रवो यक्षवश्च बलिं शीर्षाणि जभ्रुरश्व्यानि॥" to have lost their

64. Yâksu certainly means a particular king or the chief of a particular tribe. It may or may not be a doublet or a mistake for Yâdu. Sāyaṇa's यज्ञकुशलः (यजेः सन्प्रत्ययो न तु सन्नन्तः अतो न द्विर्भावः) is impossible. Langlois taken it as a proper name and so also Grassmann in his Wörterbuch (though in the translation he seems to have omitted the word altogether but without any explanation). Professors Macdonell and Keith seem to have considered Yâksu in VII, 18, 6, to be proper name (Vedic Index, II, 882).

probably because his Bharadvāja priest could not save him from the skilful manœuvre of Sudās guarded by the prayers of Vasiṣṭha, Bharadvāja's new rival. The sympathy of the Bhardvājas for the Pūrus is clearly indicated in VI. 20.10, quoted above. The issue of the Dāśarājña battle is viewed by the Bharadvajas in a different light. In the general overthrow whole armies were destroyed and great was the carnage. But the Yadus and Turvaśas may have escaped by crossihg the river[85] and precipitate flight. The Bharadvājas who have been alienated from Sudās and are probably supporters of his present adversary, the Pūru chief, cannot but feel sympathy for the confederates of the Pūrus and we twice find them thanking Indra for saving the Yadus and Turvaśas: "त्वं धुनिरिन्द्र धुनिमतीऋर्णोरपः सीरा न स्रवन्तीः। प्रयत्समुद्र[86] मति शूर पर्षि पारयां तुर्वशं यदुं स्वस्ति ॥६।२०।१२॥ and "य आनयत्परावतः सुनीती तुर्वशं यदुम्। इन्द्रः स नो युवा सखा ॥" ६।४५।१॥[87]

I shall have to notice here a few points in connexion with VII. 83. The Dāśarājña battle is referred to in verse 8 and

85. See Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, I, pp. 315-6; II.p. 185.

86. समुद्र etymologically means 'collection of waters' and I have already thrown out the suggestion that the Daśarājña battle was fought at the confluence of the Chenab and the Ravi between the two rivers. Sudās safely crossd the rivers but his pursuers were drowned, a fate from which the Yadus and Turvaśas may have managed to escape.

87. Mr. Ramāprasād Chanad's interpretation in his "Indo-Aryan Races" of the Rgvedic references to the safe crossing of the Yadus and Turvaśas, though highly original, cannot suit the texts of the Rgveda. The view that Professors Mecdonell and Keith have advocated on this difficult question seems quite plausible to me. See the articles on Turvaśa and Yadu in the Vedic Index.

IX, 26) or Chenab.[65] The later Jumna is also a 'black river.'[66] The Dāśarājña battle may therefore have been fought on a spot lying between the Rāvi and the Chenab. This supposition would give a good explanation for "सखा सखायमतरद्विषूचोः," VII, 18 6. I cannot just now identify the Saráyu in V, 53, 9, but it is certainly not the river later famous in Oudh.[67] पुरीषिणी is supposed[68] to an adjective to Saráyu, which is very likely. But can it be a variant (perhaps a learned form) for परुष्णी ? The shifting of the accent would explain at least the syncopation.

III

I have tried to show that with one single exception (III, 23, 4) the family books fo the Ṛgveda mean by सरस्वती the river Indus and it is in the Tenth Maṇḍala that सरस्वती always means the 'Sarsuti'. I shall now try to explain why III, 23, 4, though belonging to a fairly early family collection gives to the word the meaning it bore in later times.

The explanation probably lies in III, 33, a hymn which contains a dialogue detween the rivers Vipāś (Beas) and Śutudrī (Sutlej) on one side and Viśvāmitra wishing to cross them with the Bharatas 'eager for conquest' on the other. The hymn is highly interesting from literary as well as historical points of view and I shall therefore quote

65. According to Roth and Stein; see the latter's paper on River-names in the Ṛgveda in the Bhandarkar Commemoration volume.

66. It is also known as कालिन्दी.

67. One however feels tempted to think of the Avestan Haroyu (modern Hari-rud).

68. Sāyaṇa on V, 53, 9 and Macdonell and Keith, Vedic Index, I, 541.

it in full. But I shall discuss only those portions of it which are relevant to the present subject. The hymn is:

(Viśvāmitra) प्र पर्वतानामुशती उपस्थादश्वे इव विषिते हासमाने ।
गावेव शुभ्रे मातरा रिहाणे विपाट्छुतुद्री पयसा जवेते ॥१॥
इन्द्रेषिते प्रसवं भिक्षमाणे अच्छा समुद्रं रथ्येव याथः ।
समाराणे ऊर्मिभिः पिन्वमाने अन्या वामन्यामप्येति शुभ्रे ॥२॥
अच्छा सिन्धुं मातृतमामयासं विपाशमुर्वीं सुभगामगन्म ।
वत्समिव मातरा संरिहाणे समानं योनिमनु सञ्चरन्ती ॥३॥

(Rivers) एना वयं पयसा पिन्वमाना अनु योनिं देवकृतं चरन्तीः ।
न वर्तवे प्रसवः सर्गतक्तः किंयुर्विप्रो नद्यो जोहवीति ॥४॥

(Viśvā.) रमध्वं मे वचसे सोम्याय ऋतावरीरुप मुहूर्तमेवैः ।
प्र सिन्धुमच्छा बृहती मनीषावस्युरह्वे कुशिकस्य सूनुः ॥५॥

(Riv.) इन्द्रो अस्माँ अरदद्वज्रबाहुरपाहन्वृत्रं परिधिं नदीनाम् ।
देवोऽनयत्सविता सुपाणिस्तस्य वयं प्रसवे याम उर्वीः ॥६॥
प्रवाच्यं शश्वधा वीर्यं१ तदिन्द्रस्य कर्म यदहिं विवृश्चत् ।
वि वज्रेण परिषदो जघानायन्नापोऽयनमिच्छमानाः ॥७॥
एतद्वचो जरितर्मापि मृष्ठा आ यत्ते घोषानुत्तरा युगानि ।
उक्थेषु कारो प्रति नो जुषस्व मा नो नि कः पुरुषत्रा नमस्ते ॥८॥

(Viśvā.) ओ षु स्वसारः कारवे शृणोत ययौ वो दूरादनसा रथेन ।
नि षू नमध्वं भवता सुपारा अधोअक्षाः सिन्धवः स्रोत्याभिः ॥९॥

(Riv.) आ ते कारो शृणवामा वचांसि ययाथ दूरादनसा रथेन ।
नि ते नंसै पीप्यानेव योषा मर्यायेव कन्या शश्वचै ते ॥१०॥

(Viṣvā.) यदङ्ग त्वा भरताः सन्तरेयुर्गव्यन्ग्राम इषित इन्द्रजूतः ।
अर्षादह प्रसवः सर्गतक्त आ वो वृणे सुमतिं यज्ञियानाम् ॥११॥

अतारिषुर्भरता गव्यवः समभक्त विप्रः सुमतिं नदीनाम् ।
प्र पिन्वध्वमिषयन्तीः सुराधा आ वक्षणाः पृणध्वं यात शीभम् ॥१२॥
उद्व ऊर्मिः शम्या हन्त्वापो योक्त्राणि मुञ्चत । माडुष्कृतौ व्येनसाघ्न्यौ शूनमारताम् ॥१३॥

The hymn show that Viśvāmitra helped the Bharatas in crossing the Beas and the Sutlej, that these Bharatas had come from a great distance ("ययौ वो दूरादनसा रथेन" "ययाथ दूरादनसा रथेन") and that they were out for conquest. It is possible that King Sudās was among these Bharatas,

as the words of Yāṣka ("विश्वामित्र ऋषिः सुदासः पैजवनस्य पुरोहितो बभूव स वित्त गृहीत्वा विपाट्छुतुद्र्योः सम्भेदमा ययौ अनुययुरितरे स विश्वामित्रो नदीस्तुष्टाव गाधा भवत इति" Nir. 11, 24) seem to suggest. Bṛhaddevatā IV. 106, "पुरोहितः सन्निज्यार्थं सुदासा सह यन्नृषिः, विपाट्छुतुद्र्योः सम्भेदं शमित्येते उवाच ह ॥" supplies a commentary on Yāska's words and makes it probable that Sudās was among the number. That Sudās was a Bharata as well as a Tṛtsu cannot be doubted by any Vedic scholar[69] to-day, whatever Roth, Muir, Kaegi and Zimmer writing quite a long time ago, may have said. That the Bharatas were marching for conquest (or perhaps colonisation) is clearly established by भरताः...गव्यन् ग्रामः in verse 11 and भरता गव्यवः in verse 12. गव्यन् means 'wishing for cows'. Sāyaṇa takes 'गो' to mean 'water' and renders गव्यन् by 'wishing' (to cross) the river. But this meaning is without any warrant. 'गोः' does not mean 'water'; even the Nighaṇtu and the Nirukta do not[70] include 'water' among the many (?) meaning of the word. 'To cross' too is a gratuitious assumption. But Sāyaṇa has correctly[71] interpreted गव्यवः in verse 12 by 'गाः आत्मने

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69. One scholar has however chosen to doubt the identity of the Bharatas with the Tṛtsus in the Calcutta Review for November, 1923, pp. 157-58. But see my reply in the August, 1924 number of the same Journal. Dr. Das's reply to my criticisms (pp. 378-384, C. R,. August, 1924) only obscures the issue by a flourish of rhetoric and display of temper (pp. 374-8).

70. But Durgācārya on Nir. VI. 2 renders गवाम् of Yāska by अपाम्. we are however not to conclude from this that took 'गो' to be a synonym for 'water'. The Ṛgvedic passage (III 30. 10) on which Yāska is commenting means by 'गाः' 'rain-waters' but that only metaphorically. Durgá therefore did not give a synonym but the meaning of the word divested of metaphor.

71. Similar words देवयवः, अवस्यवः etc , are so frequent in the R. V., that Sāyaṇa could not misunderstand the sense of गव्यवः. मृगयु is perhaps the only word of this type which has survived in classical Sanskrit.

इच्छन्तः' ('wishing to possess cows'). 'Wishing to possess cows' meant 'wishing to conquer other people's possessions'. The cow was the principal wealth in those days and she was also objective of the enemy's attack. The king was called the गोपा (literally 'Protector of Cows') and the word also came to mean simply 'a protector' without any special reference to cows. Readers of the Mahābhārata will recall to their minds the story of the Kaurava attack on the cow-stalls of Kirāta.

The question now arises, from which side did Sudās and the Bharatas cross the Beas and the Sutlej for this forage ? Professors Macdonell and Keith[72] have supposed that they came from Kurukṣetra and crossed the rivers from the East. But what is more probable is that the rivers were forded from the west and the Bharatas came from the western parts of the Punjab. Viśvāmitra led them across the Sutlej and they probably settled near Kurukṣetra. They may have transferred to a river in their new home the proud name of 'Sárasvatī'. As the Bharatas were in later times most honoured of all the Aryan tribes[73] and as other tribes probably followed in their wake and joined them in their new home[74] it was this stream which in later times exclusively[75] received the name of Sárasvatī. The Bharatas had dubbed the river "सरस्वती" and there is nothing surprising therefore

72. Vedic Index II, pp. 310, 436

73. *Cf.* Vedic Index II, pp. 26-97.

74. The name Pañcāla shows a fusion of five tribes and the fact that there was a rivalry between the Kurus and the Pañcālas makes us assume an old hostility. See below. [Waddell's "able Panch" is based on an etymology which is not even of the type satirised by Voltaire.]

75. But compare रुद्रावर्त्ते कुरुक्षेत्रे श्रीस्थले पुष्करेऽपि वा etc., quoted adove.

in the two Bharata princes' referring to this stream by "सरंस्वत्याम्" in III. 23. 4. This passage only shows that the Bharatas called the river "Sárasvatī." But by the time of R. V. X. 75, even persons belonging to the extreme west of the Punjab knew it by that name and the river Indus by its other name सिन्धुं "Sindhu" alone.

These suppositions can give a satisfactory explanation of many problems of the Ṛgveda. On what grounds I have come to such conclusions I shall try to show in the following part of the paper. I shall then fully discuss the personal history of King Sudās and his relations with the Bharadvājas, the Vasiṣṭhas and the Viśvāmitras, questions which are still highly obscure. If I can convince my readers of the plausibility of my account, the correctness of the interpretation I have put on III. 33 and III. 23 will follow as a matter of course. And the proposed identification of the "Sárasvatī" in the earlier portion of the Ṛgveda (particularly in Maṇḍalas VI and VII) will be then placed beyond all doubts.

IV

King Sudās has been called in the Ṛgveda Paijavana. Yāska in Nirukta passage (II. 24) referred to above, "पैजवन: पिजवनस्य पुत्र:", says that Pijavana was the name of Sudās's father. King Divodāsa is also mentioned as the ancestor of Sudās. Professors Macdonell and Keith[76] incline towards the view that Divodāsa was the grandfather of Sudās, and Pijavana his father. Their reasons for this supposition fail to convince me. R. V. VII. 18-22 mentions Paijavana Sudās as the *náptṛ* of Devávant : द्वे नप्तुर्देववतः शते गोर्द्वा रथा वधूमन्ता सुदासः। अर्हन्नग्ने पैजवनस्य दानं होतेव सद्म पर्येमि रेभन्॥ Devávant

76. Vedic Index, Vol. I, p. 363 Vol. II, pp. 24 and 554.

seems to be used here for Divodāsa.[77] नप्तुः probably means 'of the son' for 'son' is the usual meaning of the word नप्तृ or नपात् in the Ṛgveda. But even if the later meaning of 'grandson' be put on the word, as Sāyaṇa has done (देववतो राज्ञो नप्तुः वैत्रस्य), how will Professors Macdonell and Keith explain the concluding verse of the hymn "इमं नरो मरुतः सश्चतानु दिवोदासं न पितरं सुदासः । अविष्टना पैजवनस्य केतं दूणाशं क्षत्रम् अजरं दुवोयु ॥" where Divodāsa is explicitly called the father (पिता) of Sudās ? This passage clearly establishes that Divodāsa was the father and not grandfather of Sudās. As regards Pijavana he may have been the same person as Divodāsa as Geldner[78] supposes or may have been some remote ancestor. Divodās is connected with the Bharadvājas in Maṇḍala VI and Sudās with the Vasiṣṭhas in Maṇḍala VII. But why should that constitute any difficulty ? We know Sudās had connexions with the Viśvāmitras too. Is it therefore impossible for him to take as priests a family distinct from the one which served his father ? I believe that Sudās inherited both his father's throne and his father's priest but he soon exchanged the Bharadvāja for a Vasiṣṭha Priest. He must have earned the hatred of the Bharadvājas for this desertion and it is thinkable that the Bharadvājas tried to avenge themselves on him. In the Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa XXVI. 5 and Kauṣītaki Upaniṣad III. 1 we read of a Pratardana, son of Divodāsa. If this Divodāsa is the same person as Sudās's father, Pratardana would become either Sudās himself or a brother of his. The

77. Compare names like गजसाह्वय (for हस्तिनापुर) in the later lete-rature.

78 Rigveda in Auswahl I. 115.

latter seems more likely.[79] Now we read in the Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā XXI. 10, "एतेन ह स्म वै भरद्वाजः प्रतर्दनं संनह्यन् एति ततो वै स राष्ट्रम् अभवत्", that Pratardana was aided by a Bharadvāja in the attaining of a glorious kingdom. We have also in the Ṛgveda VI. 26. 8, "प्रातर्दनिः क्षत्रश्रीरस्तु श्रेष्ठो घने वृत्राणां सनये धनानाम्", a son of Pratardana as the protegé of a Bharadvāja. It is therefore thinkable that when Sudās took a Vasiṣṭha to his services, the Bharadvājas became angry and set up his brother Pratardana as a rival claimant to the throne and the Kāṭhaka passage may be possibly referring to this.

Before passing on to Vasiṣṭha I must say a few words about the tribal relations of Sudās. I have already said that I accept the views of professors Geldner, Macdonell and Keith and other recent workers in the field of Vedic antiquities about the relations between the Tṛtsus and Bharatas. I shall now try to show that the Tṛtsu-Bharatas were also related to the Pūrus. In the Ṛgveda, the 'Five Peoples' are frequently mentioned. Aupamanyava's explanation "चत्वारो वर्णा निषादः पञ्चमः"[80] for the term पञ्चजनाः is impossible to follow. Zimmer's view that the Five People were the Yadus, Turvaśas, Anus, Druhyus and pūrus is the most likely one. These five must have been the principal Aryan tribes. Of them the Pūrus may have been the most

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79. Why else is he not mentioned even once in Maṇḍalas III and VII?

80. Quoted in the Nirukta III. 8. Sāyaṇa follows this explanation. Professors Macdonell and Keith (Vedic Index I, 467) have misunderstood Yāska. When Yāska writes गन्धर्वाः पितरो देवा असुरा रक्षांसीत्येके ('*thus some think*') he does not hold this view himself. His own view must be the same that same as that of Aupamanyava who was probably a Nairukta (Etymologist).

noted people. We know that the later Purāṇas make Pūru the youngest son of king Yayāti but most favoured by his father and they trace the descent of the later noble family of Bharatas and Kauravas from this Pūru. Now in the Ṛgveda there are sufficient indication for connecting the Tṛtsu-Bharatas with the Pūrus. Thus we have an exact parallel for (or rather an echo of) R. V. VI. 20. 10 "सनेम तेऽवसा नव्यं इन्द्र प्र पूरवः स्तवन्त एना यज्ञैः । सप्त यत्पुरः शर्म शारदीर्दर्द्धन् दासीः पुरुकुत्साय शिक्षन् ॥" in I. 63.7 "त्वं ह त्यदिन्द्र सप्त युध्यन्पुरो वज्रिन् पुरुकुत्साय दर्दः । बर्हिर्न यत्सुदासे वृथावर्ग्हो राजन् वरिवः पूरवे कः ॥" connecting which two passages we may infer that the Tṛtsu-Bharata Sudās had some relation with the Pūrus. More explicit is I. 130. 7, 'भिनत्पुरो नवतिमिन्द्र पूरवे दिवोदासाय महि दाशुषे नृतो वज्रेण दाशुषे नृतो । अतिथिग्वाय शम्बरं गिरेरुग्रो अवाभरत् । महो धनानि दयमान ओजसा विश्वा धनान्योजसा ॥', where Parucchepa Daivodāsi actually calls Divodāsa Atithigva a Pūru. If अतिथिग्वाय in the third line is in apposition with दिवोदासाय in the first, there is no reason why पूरवे immediately before दिवोदासाय should not be taken as its adjective. This is a very old testimony. The Parucchepa Daivodāsa collection is perhaps as early as the Bharadvāja collection or Vasiṣṭha collection.[81] I cannot therefore help concluding that the Tṛtsu-Bharatas were a section of the old family of Pūrus. The "sudden disappearance of the name of the Pūrus from Vedic tradition"[82] may be better accounted for by supposing that the glory of the Pūrus was eclipsed by their near kinsmen, the Bharatas.[83] But the Purāṇas derive the famous Kurus by direct descent from the Pauravas. It

81. See E. V. Arnold, Vedic Metre pp. 48, 171, 272, 278-380, 294.

82. Vedic Index II. 12 .

83. See further below.

is possible that the Pūrus and Tṛtsu-Bharatas again became one people, a supposition which would explain the name Bhāratas given to Kauravas.[84]

But Sudās must have thrown off the allegiance that he owed to the Pūru chief which may have led to the confederacy of Ten Kings against him. The Dāśarājna hymn (R. V. VII. 18) is very, very obscure and I cannot claim to have fully understood it. But I think that this explanation for the origin of the battle can suit our texts. In VII. 18. 13 "वि सद्यो विश्वा दृंहितान्येषामिन्द्रः पुरः सहसा सप्त दर्दः । व्यानवस्य तृत्सवे गयं भाग् जेष्म पूरुं विदथे मृध्रवाचम् ।," Vasiṣṭha exults over the points gained by his Tṛtsu favourite (Sudās) and expresses a hope that the Pūru may be conquered by these efforts, And in VII. 8. 4 "प्र प्रायमग्निर्भरतस्य शृण्वे वि यत्सूर्यो न रोचने बृहद्भाः । अभि यः पूरुं पृतनासु तस्थौ द्युतानो दैव्यो अतिथिः शुशोच ॥", the Pūru chief is said to have been conquered. Combining these two statements I come to the conclusion that the conquest of the Pūru was contingent on the overthrow of the confederacy of Ten Kings and was assured when that was achieved. A Bharadvāja, instead of a Viśvāmitra, may have instigated this confederacy against Vasiṣṭha's patron. The Pūru has been sneeringly called 'of unavailing speech in prayer or worship' (पूरुं विदथे मृध्रवाचम्) in VII. 18. 13,

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84. The Purāṇas are probably wrong in thinking that the name भारत is derived from king Bharata, son of Duṣyanta. The Tṛtsus probably correspond to the Kāśi dynasty of the Purāṇas. The Brahma Purāṇa and the Harivaṃśa trace the ancestry of the Kāśi line to the Pauravas. Though Pargiter (Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 101) following other Purāṇas refuses to accept this connexion, I cannot help following it as it accords with the Ṛgveda as we have understood it.

horses on the Yamùnā also proves that Yamùnā was not distinct from or at least distant from the Paruṣṇī.

R. V. V, 52, 17 too leads us to the same conclusion. The hymn is addressed to the Maruts. The author is Śyāvāśva of the Atri family and the Fifth Maṇḍala contains ten hymns by him, all addressed to the Maruts, of which this is the first. In verse 7, the Maruts are said to have 'waxed mighty' (वावृधन्त) among 'rivers' (वृजने नदीनाम्). No river is specified till we come to verse 9, "उत स्म ते परुष्ण्यामूर्णा वसत शुन्ध्यवः। उत पव्या रथानामद्रिं भिन्दन्त्योजसा॥," where the Páruṣṇī (the Ravi) is mentioned. The following seven verses have no river names but there is one name in the next one (the last in the hymn) "सप्त मे सप्त शाकिन एकमेका शता ददुः। यमुनायामधि श्रुतमुद्राधो गव्यं मृजे नि राधो अश्व्यं मृजे॥, where the poet says that he obtained on the Yamùnā famous gifts of cows and horses (or gifts of cows and horses famous on the Yamùnā). We saw the words Yamùnā and Paruṣṇī mentioned in similar contexts in VII, 18. Here too we find the two names in one hymn in such setting that we would not naturally take them to refer to distant and disconnected rivers. Would it be proper to suppose that these two rivers alone have been mentioned here only by the merest chance ? Chance in one place is intelligible but in two places makes us pause and think. That Śyāvāśva belonged to the west is conclusively proved by V, 53, 9, मा वो रसानितभा कुभा क्रुमुर्मा वः सिन्धुर्नि रीरमत्। मा वः परि ष्ठात् सरयुः पुरीषिण्यस्मे इत्सुम्नमस्तु वः॥, where only western rivers mentioned. No other river name occurs in the Śyāvāśva collection. The Yamùnā of V, 52, 17 cannot therefore be the Jumna. It must be either the Parùṣṇī or some river that has joined it.

If a guess may be hazarded here, I might say that the Yamùná was the Asiknī (='Black' according to Yāska

it is very likely that the whole hymn alludes only to that victory. We should therefore take the first verse "युवां नरा पश्यमानास आप्यं प्राचा गव्यन्तः पृथुपर्शवो ययुः । दासा च वृत्रा हतमार्याणि च सुदासमिन्द्रावरुणावशिक्षतम् ।। to refer to the same incident. "प्राचा गव्यन्तों ययुः." has been translated by Griffith 'went forward for spoil'. But 'went eastwards for spoil' would be more correct and that is how Sāyaṇa takes it. It was probably from the extreme west of the Punjab that Vasiṣṭha had brought his patron Sudās. R. V. VIII. 96.2 "उभे यत्ते महिना शुभ्रे अन्धसी अधि क्षियन्ति पूरवः" places the Pūrus on the two coasts (अन्धसी='grassy banks' according to Grassmann and Griffith) of the Sárasvatī which, I have tried to show above, meant in the Seventh Maṇḍala the river Indus.[88] The Dāśarājña battle was probably fought near the junction of the Páruṣṇī and the Yamúna (=Asiknī=Chenab ?)[89]. Before passing on to the incidents in the subsequent life of Sudās, I must notice another point in connection with R. V. VII. 83. In the 8th verse, "दाशराज्ञे परियत्ताय विश्वतः सुदासं इन्द्रावरुणावशिक्षतम् । श्वित्यञ्चो यत्र नमसा कपर्दिनो धिया धीवन्तो असपन्त तृत्सवः ।।" the Vasiṣṭhas call themselves Tṛtsus Does this mean that they actually belonged to the Tṛtsu family ? I think not. They were now partisans of Tṛtsus and hence they characterise themselves as Tṛtsus. We have an exact parallel in VI. 16.4 "त्वामीळे अध द्विता भरतो वाजिभिः शुनम् । ईजे यज्ञेषु यज्ञियम् ।।" where the Bharadvāja priest calls himself a Bharata because he is serving the Bharata (Tṛtsu-Bharata) Divodāsa.[90]

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88. Regarding vegetation on the coaasts of the Indus in ancient times, I may refer my readers to the Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. I, pp. 28-29 referred to above.

89. See above.

90. Compare VI. 16.5 त्वमिमा वार्या पुरु दिवोदासाय सन्वते भरद्वाजाय दाशुष्टे ।।

The Vasiṣṭhas were not destined to enjoy long the bounty of king Sudās for the Viśvāmitras managed to step into their shoes. If we study R. V. III. 53 and VII. 104 in the light of the later Brāhmaṇa and Epic legends about the conflicts of Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra we cannot help concluding that Viśvāmitra snatched away the *paurohitya* of Sudās from the Vasiṣṭhas tried to avenge themselves for this offence. Whatever may be the exact value of the legend in the Bṛhaddevatā IV, 112-118, it is certain that Viśvāmitra is alluding to a magical effect that had come over him and his recovery from it in R.V. III. 53.15 and 16 : "ससर्परीरमतिं बाधमाना बृहन्मिमाय जमदग्निदत्ता । आ सूर्यस्य दुहिता ततान श्रवो देवेष्वमृतमजुर्यम् ॥ ससर्परीरभरत्तूयमेभ्योऽधि श्रवः पाञ्चजन्यासु कृष्टिषु ! सा पक्ष्या३ नव्यमायुर्दधाना यां मे पलस्तिजमदग्नयो ददुः ॥ The author of the magic may well have been a Vasiṣṭha and it is conceivable that Viśvāmitra is cursing these Vasiṣṭhas in verses 21-23 of R. V. III. 53. It is also conceivable that the Vasiṣṭhas are trying to exculpate themselves and to throw back the curse on its author in VII. 104. 12, 15-25. But the Vasiṣṭhas had lost the favour of Sudās for ever and we may possibly read a lament for this fate and a wish to regain their old importance in VII. 64. 3 "मित्रस्तन्नो वरुणो देवो अर्यः प्र साधिष्ठेभि पथिभिर्नयन्तु । ब्रवद्यथा न आदरिः सुदास इषा मदेम सह देवगोपाः ॥" It is probably this wish which in later legends[91] takes the form of Vaiṣṭha's successful attempt to avenge himself: on the descendants of Sudās.

R. V. III. 53 probably described what Viśvāmitra did after recovering from his swoon (?). He must have led on Sudās for conquest of new lands as is evidenced by

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91. Taittirīya Saṃhitā, VII. 4-7. Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, IV 1. Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, IV. 7. 3.

verse 11: उप प्रेत कुशिकाश्चेतयध्वम् अश्वं राये प्र मुंचता सुदासः । राजा वृत्रं जङ्घनत्प्रागपागुदगथा यजाते वर आ पृथिव्याः ॥ It is to lands of prosperous non-Aryans who did not worship the Vedic gods that Viśvāmitra wanted to lead Sudās. Compare verse 14: "किं ते कृण्वन्ति कीकटेषु गावो नाशिरं दुह्रे न तपन्ति घर्मम् । आ नो भर प्रमगन्दस्य वेदो नैचाशाखं मघवन् रन्धया नः ॥"[92] R. V. III. 53. 17-20 refer to the march of Viśvāmitra and Sudās and in the concluding verse we have a vaunt of Viśvāmitra. The verse is "इम इन्द्र भरतस्य पुत्रा अपपित्वं चिकितुर्न प्रपित्वम् । हिन्वन्त्यश्वमरणं न नित्यं ज्यावाजं परि णयन्त्याजौ ॥" which probably means that prior to Viśvāmitra's aid the Bharatas knew only how to retreat (अप-पित्वम्) and not how to advance (प्र-पित्वम्). We have here probably a sneer at Sudās's victory at the Dāśarājña battle which wa s perhaps due to a strategic retreat in the form of crossing the rivers Páruśṇī and Yamúnā and not to any forward charge, the enemy who had hemmed in Sudās from all sides themselves being carried away by the current. This is probably what the obscure Dāśarājña hymn (VII. 18) means.

Leading Sudās for conquest of new lands, Viśvāmitra probably brought him to the junction of the Vipāś and the Sútudrī. I have already discussed III. 33, the hymn

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92. Dr. Abinas Chandra Das in his Rigvedic India, Vol. I., p. 8 (and 561) says that Kīkaṭa was barren land where the cattle could not thrive for want of fodder ! Exactly oppossite is the view that our text warrants. Dr. Das has overlooked the small but important enclitic ते (= 'for thee'). The cattle wealth of the Kīkaṭas tempted Viśvāmitra and he prays to Indra that his Aryan worshipper might obtaiy it—proffessedly for offering the milk to Indra but actually for personal enjoyment. Dr. Das's mistake which it is much to be regretted, he has repeated elsewhere, is due to the fact that he studies verses of the Ṛgveda dissociating them from contexts.

which gives a dialogue between Viśvāmitra and the two rivers. It is probably to the incident in this hymn that III. 53.9 "महाँ ऋषिर्देवजा देवजूतोऽस्तभ्नात्सिन्धुमर्णवं नृचक्षाः । विश्वामित्रो यदवहत्सुदासमप्रियायत कुशिकेभिरिन्द्रः ॥" makes a reference. Sāyaṇa paraphrases सिन्धुम् by विपाट्शुतद्र्योः सम्भेदम् and he is most probably right. But little value attaches to his paraphrase of अवहत् by अयाजयत्. It is possible that III. 53 is a contemporary account and by Viśvāmitra himself but III. 33 comes from a descendant of Viśvāmitra who gives a dramatic account of the glorious achievement of his illustrcons ancestor. But it may be safer not to dogmatise on the point. I cannot help believing that Viśvāmitra and the Bharatas crossed the rivers Vipāś and Sútudrī from north-west and not from the south-east. After reaching the land later known as Kurukṣetra the Bharatas may have permanently settled there. And we therefore find them located there in later texts. The Bharatas may have given to a rather insignificant stream in their new home the old proud name of Sárasvatī and small wonder that we find two Bharata chiefs speaking of the Sárasvatī in R. V. 23.4 in the same breath with the Dṛṣádvatī and the Āpayā. In still later times the usage of the famous Bharatas made this small stream alone go by the name of Sárasvatī and the Indus lost that old name. We find therefore in R. V. X. 75 the Indus called "Síndhu" and this small stream in the Madhyadeśa "Sárasvatī".

N.B—Muir in his Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I[93], pp. 373-4 quotes Weber's emphasis on the later disrepute of Sudās among the sacredotal class. I think this adequately explained by the account I have given above of Sudās's

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93. *Compare Manu*, VII. 41 : "वैनो विनष्टोऽविनयान्नहुषश्चैव पार्थिवः । सुदाः पैजवनश्चैव सुमुखो निमिरेव च ॥

treatment of his priests. He abandons his hereditary priests the Bharadvājas for a new family, the Vasiṣṭhas, and these Vasiṣṭhas too in favour of Viśvāmitra who probably did not belong to an old priestly family. There may be some truth in the later legend that Viśvāmitra belonged to a family of Kṣatriyas.[94] Priests would naturally speak ill of such a king, especially in later times when their caste pretensions were so generally recognised.

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94. One reason which inclines me to this tradition is that the Viśvāmitra Maṇḍala shows language and metres distindtly later than those of the old priestly families of the Bharadvājas and the Vasiṣṭhas. See Arnold's Vedic Metre, pp. 48, 275 278-28. But the contents of the Third Maṇḍala and the Seventh Maṇḍala are not such that they must needs be separated in time The most natural explanation for this seems to my mind to be that that Viśvāvmitras had taken to verse-making only recently and they therefore could not write in the hieratic language and the antique metres which the Atris, Bharadvājas and Vasiṣṭhas could employ. Viśvāmitra would thus become a new 'Brahmân' (ब्रह्मा), in the old sense of the term = singer', 'praiser') if not in its later sense, (= a Brahmin). Viśvámitra vaunts of his glorious priestly ancestry in III. 39 (compare particularly verses 2 and 4, "दिवश्चिदा पूर्व्या जायमाना वि जागृ वि-विदथे शस्यमाना। भद्रा वस्त्राण्यर्जुना वसाना सेयमस्मे संनजा पित्र्याधीः ॥२॥ नकिरेषां निन्दिता मर्त्येषु ये अस्माकं पितरो गोषु योधाः। इन्द्र एषां दृंहिता माहिनावानुदगोत्राणि ससृजे दंसनावान् ॥४॥") simply to impress on people that he was no upstart But an upstart he probably was in reality for it is to Návagvas and Daságvas, a semimythical race of priests, that he can trace his ancestry.

II.4

THE DĀŚARĀJÑA BATTLE

विश्वस्य मित्रभूतं तं देवं नत्वा विचारये।
दाशराज्ञे निमित्तं वा विश्वामित्रमुनिर्न वा ॥

Of the references to historical events that we find in the Ṛgveda, the battle between king Sudās of the Tṛtsu-Bharata clan and a confederacy of Ten Kings on the banks of the Ravi is the best known to students of ancient Indian history. But the words of the hymns (VII,18; VII, 33; VII 83 &c.) describing or mentioning the battle are so obscure that in spite of efforts of scholars we have understood very little of the actual course of the engagement. The circumstances that led to the fight are also not very clear and various are the surmises that have been made by scholars on this point. The most prevalent view is that Viśvāmitra, beiug jealous of Vasiṣṭha at his snatching away from him the priestly offce of King Sudās, organised against the king this league of the chiefs.[1] When studying the question of some river identifications it the Ṛgveda, it has occurred to me that Víśvāmitra could not be held responsible in the matter. In the foregoing essay this point has been touched towards

1. Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index*, Vol II, p. 275, Keith in *Cambridge History of India* Tol. I, pp. 81-2, Nripendra Kumar Dutt, *Aryani sation of India*, pp- 1o6-7, Aqinash Chandra Das, *Ṛgvedie Culture* pp. 357-9.

the end, but here I propose to discuss in some detail what I feel about Viśvāmitra's responsibility in the matter of the War of Ten Kings.

John Muir, writing in 1872, could not decide for want of sufficient data whether Vasiṣṭha or Viśvāmitra was Sudās's earlier priest.[2] It was therefore impossible for him to dogmatise about Viśvāmitra's responsibility in the Dāśarājña Battle. But the Vedic Index says, Viśvāmitra "was certainly at one time the Purohita (domestic priest) of Sudās, but he seems to have been deposed from that post, to have joined Sudās's enemies, and to have taken part in the onslaught of the kings against him, for the hymn of Sudās's triumph[3] has clear reference to the ruin Viśvāmitra brought on his allies". But are there any certain indications in Ṛv. VII 18 to the effect that Vasiṣṭha was exulting over the discomfiture of Viśvāmitra as a priest of Sudās's enemies ? To my mind there is none. That both Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra were at different periods priests of Sudās is certain. But the question to decide is, who came earlier. Epic and Purāṇic tradition represents Vasiṣṭha as an old brahmin priest and Viśvāmītra as acquiring brahminhood and consequent priestly power after great struggle. This change in Viśvāmitra, the tradition further says, was due to his coveting the brahmanical power that Vasiṣṭha could wield as his birth-right. Applied to the Ṛgvedic incident, this should plainly mean that Vasiṣṭha was Sudās's priest earlier than Viśvāmitra. The cow over which the later literature represents Viśvāmitra as fighting with Vasiṣṭha seems to stand for the priestly fees which were given in the

2. *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Vol. Second Edition, p. 375.
3. Ṛv. VII. 18.

form of cows. Taittirīya Saṃhitā, VII. 4-7,[4] Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, IV. 8, Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, IV. 7.3 represent Vasiṣṭha as wanting to avenge himself on the descendants or people of Sudās for his killing one hundred sons of the sage at Viśvāmitra's instigation. This shows that Viśvāmitra had hold over Sudās after Vasiṣṭha lost his. Manusmṛti, VII. 41 holds out to scorn Sudās Paijavana for disrespect to brahmins and this can hardly be understood if the brahmin Vasiṣṭha came as Sudās's priest after Viśvāmitra who was originally a kṣatriya had been ousted from that office. Consequently we should not *assume* that Viśvāmitra being dispossessed of Sudās's priesthood, tried (unsuccessfully) to show to the king his folly in choosing Vasiṣṭha as his priest by organising a league against him.

From later literature and *a priori* consideration let us turn to that of the Ṛgveda. If Viśvāmitra ever tried to punish Sudās, we should expect in the Third Book of the Ṛgveda some hints against the king or his clan but we find nothing of the kind. In hymn 33 of the Book we find Viśvāmitra taking the Bharatas across the Beas and the Sutlej, seemingly eastward,[5] and hymn 53, which makes reference to this crossing in verse 9 shows from verse II onwards that Viśvāmitra is taking on Sudās to further conquests. These are the only two places in the Third Maṇḍala where we have mention of Sudās or his Bharatas and in both places Viśvāmitra apsears as his friend. Further, in III. 23 we find two Bharata princes, Devaśravas and Devavāta mentioned as having kindled fire on the banks of the Sarasvatī,

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4. वसिष्ठो हतपुत्रोऽकामयत विन्देय प्रजामभि सौदासान् भवेयमिति etc
5. Notice that Vipāś is mentioned before Śutudrī in hymn.

the Dṛṣadvatī and the Āpayā, and this cannot be understood if Viśvāmitra fell out with Sudās and his Bharatas, and tried to ruin him by leading against him a host of ten kings.

I have already mentioned that the details of the battle are not clear. But one thing if sure, that Sudās's adversaries tried to overcome his army by breaking the dam of the Ravi or some such device, but they were themselves carried away by the stream (VII. 18.5 ff.). Sudās seems to have made good his escape by a clever retreat (सखा सखायमतरद्विषूचोः, "the friend Indra rescued his friend Sudās from both the sides" v. 6d). One feels that Viśvāmitra is ridiculing this real retreat which Vasiṣṭha was bragging as victory but to his advice and intercession with Indra, when Viśvāmitra says III. 53 24 that before he joined the Bharatas, they knew only to move off and not to march forward but now they push on there horses in battle as swiftly as the released bowstring.[6] When Vasiṣṭha had joined Sudās's services he too had boasted that before his coming, the Bharatas were like cowherds' sticks, stripped and poor, but as soon as Vasiṣṭha became their priest the Tṛtsu people began to swell.[7] Viśvāmitra's vaunt seems to be a reply to Vasiṣṭha's and is fully justified because Sudās's career as a conqueror aud a coloniser of non-Aryan lands (III. 53-14) begins after Viśvāmitra joins him. That the priests in Vedic times were advisers in battle and leaders in colonisation is further corroborated by the well-

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6. इम इन्द्र भरतस्य पुत्रा अपपित्वं चिकितुर्न प्रपित्वम् ।
हिन्वन्त्यश्वमरणं न नित्यं ज्यावाजं परिणयन्त्याजौ ॥

7. दण्डा इवेद्गोअजनास आसन् परिच्छिन्ना भरता अर्भकासः ।
अभवच्च पुरएता वसिष्ठ आदित्तृत्सूनां विशो अप्रथन्त ॥

known story of Māthava Videgha and Gautama Rāhūgaṇa in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa I. 4.3. 10. It becomes thus extremely difficult to suppose that Viśvāmitra preceded Vasiṣṭha in Sudās's priesthood. Consequently he could not have brought about the League of Ten Kings.

But are there any indications in the Ṛgveda as to what priest was watching the interests of Sudās's adversaries when Vasiṣṭha was aiding him ? Probably there are. That both Viśvāmitra aud Vasiṣṭha brag that they increased the power and prestige of Sudās and his Bharatas after they joined his services shows that both of them had predecessors in the office. And Vasiṣṭha's predecessors seem to have been the Bharadvājas. They were the priests of Divodāsa (VI. 16. 19 etc)[8] who according to the explicit statement in VII. 18.25b (दिवोदासं न पितरं सुदासः) was the father of Sudās. The Bharadvājas also connect themselves with the Bharatas (VI. 16 4.19) and with a Kṣatraśrī, son of Pratardana (VI. 26.8). Pratardana, we know from other sources, was a son of Divodāsa.[9] Kāṭhaka Saṃhitā XXI. 10[10] refers to Bharadvāja having helped Pratardana to get a kingdom. It is clear thus that the Bharadvājas were connected with Sudās's family, but that he himself did not have much to do with them. If he rejected them in favour of the Vasiṣṭhas or they championed the cause of Pratardana's succession instead of his own (K. S XXI. 10), then it is not impossible that the estranged Bharadvājas should have some hand in the Dāśarājña Battle. The authors of the Vedic Index believe that there is "clear reference (in VII. 18) to

8. आग्निरगामि भारतो वृत्रहा पुरुचेतनः । दिवोदासस्य सत्पतिः ॥
9. Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, XXVI. 5; Kauṣītakī Upaniṣad, III. I.
10. एनेन ह स्म वै भरद्वाजः प्रतर्दनं संनह्यन्नेति ततो वै स राष्ट्रम् अभवत् (=अजयत्).

the ruin Viśvāmitra brought on his allies." We have instead a wish for the conquest of Pūru "of unavailing speech in worship" (विदथे मृध्रवाचम् VII. 18 13). The meaning I assign to मृध्रवाचम् is borne out by VII. 18. 9 [.......सुदास इन्द्रः सुतुकाँ अमित्रानरन्धयन्मानुषे वध्रिवाचः (of impotent speech) and the fact that मृषा, seemingly connected with मृध्र, means in the later language false.' The Bharadvājas seem to be the priests of those Pūrus too (VI. 20.10) and it is not impossible that Sudās's battle had some intimate connection with a feud with the Pūrus,[11] for the hymn describing the battle expresses a wish for the conquest of the Pūrus and another hymn in the same collection (VII. 8. 4) refers to this conquest having been achieved. Any more definite information than this seems at present unavailable in our texts.

11. I have shown in my *Identification of the Ṛgvedic River Sārasvatī* etc., pp. 55-6, that RV. I. 63-7, VI. 20-10 and I. 130. 7 prove that the Bharatas were closely connected with the Pūrus and very likely as a branch of the same clan.

II.5

NAICAŚĀKHA

I intend to discuss in this paper Professor Jarl Charpentier's interpretation of this word,[1] occurring in *Ṛv.* III, 53,14,

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1. [Professor Charpentier's interpretation of the Vedic word *naicāśākhá* in connection with the interesting extracts which he gives from the Pali *Jātaka* book seems open to objection on several grounds; we may call attention to the following:—

(1) Hillebrandt's ingenious suggestion (the basis of Professor Charpentier's interpretation) that ✣ nīcāśākha might be a name of the *Nyagrodha*-tree was only a conjecture: nor is it specially plausible, since down-pointing branches are seen on other growths.

(2) That the *Nyagrodha* which "is found in the Sub-Himalayan forests from Peshawar to Assam" (Watts, *Commercial Products*, p.537), may have been known to the authors of Vedic hymns is quite credible; but it is not *proved* by the *Ṛg-Veda* verse i, 24, 7, which Professor Charpentier quotes (after Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, i, 113, and the *Vedic Index*).

(3) Considering the approving mention of the *Nyagrodha* in the two *Atharva-Veda* passages and the others cited in the *Vedic Index*, and the use of its wood for making vessels used in religious ceremonies, it is not likely that "a Nyagrodha man" could by itself mean "a performer of horrid rites in connection with a Nyagrodha-tree." According to Hillebrandt's citations (1², p. 246, *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, vii, 31, 2, viii, 16, 2), the *Nyagrodha* was for the Kṣatriyas a symbol of lordship.

(4) If the meaning just stated attached to the word

which no doubt is of great interest and importance, though he has been very modest in the expression of his views. He seems to have made it very likely that it means a people worshipping the banyan-ree. I would like to make a few supplementary remarks in connection with he says.

To *Ṛv*. I, 24, 7. I would add II, 35,8, as making a very probable reference to the banyan-tree. The verse is :-

Yó apsú á śúcinā dáivyena
ṛtā́vā́jasra urviyā̀ vibhā́ti
vayā́ íd anyā́ bhúvanāni asya
prá jāyante vīrúdhaś ca prajā́bhiḥ

All creatures and plants are here described as shooting out from Apāṁ Napāt as his branches and multiplying in progeny, and it is very likely that the poet thinks of the banyan whose *quot rami* are *tot arbores.* As regards the *aśvattha* of *Kaṭhopaniṣad* vi, I, and *Bhagavad-gītā* xv,l, I believe there is no confusion with, or substitution for, the nyagrodha. It is a cosmic tree and, like cosmic trees in the mythologies of other races, of wondrous nature ; its roots are above—in heaven—and the branches below—covering our world. This eternal *aśvattha* has a certain family connection with the evergreen ash Yggdrasll of Scandinavian mythology, 'the tree of the universe, of time, or of life, which filled all fhe world, taking root

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naicāśākha as a synonym for *naiyagrodha*, which latter occurs several times in the Vedic literature (see B. and R.), we should expect to find the same in connection with *naiyagrodha* itself, which is not the case It is conceivable that *naicāśākhā* has some indirect connection with the term *nicā-vayas*, which in *Ṛv.* I, 32, 9, is applied to the mother of *Vṛtra,* and may here denote *vṛtra* (without the capital letter).—F W.T.]

not only in the remotest depths of Nifl-heim, where bubbled the spring Hvergelmir, but also In Midgarp, near Mimir's well (the ocean), and in Asgard, near the Urdar fountain" (Guerber, *Myths of the Norsemen*, pp. 12-13).

That the hymn III, 53 is rather obscure is quite true, but much of the difficulty disappears when we recognize that we have actually more than one hymn here. Verses 1-8 form a distinct Indra hymn of the ordinary type and 9-24 an *itihāsa* hymn about Viśvāmitra, the Bharatas and Vasiṣṭha. Professor Charpentier did not want to bother himself about the details of the hymn, since he was concerned with only one word in it, viz. *Naicāśākhā*. But perhaps, its context may tell us a tale about its exact connotation which differs from the one the Jātaka passages tell us. Some time after the famous Dāśarājña battle in which Sudās, king of the Bharatas, suceessfully fought with a league of ten kings on the Rāvī, with a Viśvāmitra. This led to a quarrel between the Vasiṣṭhas and the Kuśikas. A tradition recorded in the *Bṛhad-devatā* iv, 112-8, asserts that Vasiṣṭha tried to overwhelm Viṣvāmitra by magic, but Jamadagni came to ths latter's rescue. This seems to be plainly corroborated by verses 15 and 16 of our hymn. It is possible that the jealousy of the former priests, the Vasiṣṭhas, led Viṣvāmitra to induce Sudās to leave the land and march to the south or south-east and settle in a new land. That the family priest (*purohita*) of the Vedic age played a prominent part in the leading of colonizing expeditions is made plain by passages like *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* I, 4, 1. The party of Visvāmitra and the Bharatas seems to have come to the Beas and the Sutlej in the course of their wanderings, and III,33 refers to the fording of the two rivers. This seems to be alluded to in III, 53,9.

In III,33,11 and 12 the Bharatas are described os out on a cattle raid (*gavyan* and *gavyavaḥ*), that is, out for conquest, because the cow was the chief wealth in those days and the chief object of attack; cf. the attack an Virāṭa's cow-stall by the Kaurāvas in the *Mbh. Ṛv.* iii, 50, 17., make reference to the chariots and waggons with their parts and the animals of draught required for the expedition.[2]

In the light of all this it seems plain that verse 14 means that Viṣvāmitras wanted to settle with Bharatas in the land of the Kīkaṭas; who the Kīkatas were we do not know, but they must certainly have been non-Aryans. It is possible that they were the same people as the Magadhas, of course, prior to their settlement in what was later the Magadha country. Tribes migrated from place to place and gave their own names to the lands in which they settled. It is very likely that Naicāśākhá of line *d*, and Prámaganda of *c*, are identical with the Kīkaṭas. Why Viśvāmitra wanted to conquer the Kīkaṭas was not because they were "averse to the ritual use of milk", but because he wanted to possess their cows. The Kīkaṭas did not follow the Aryan path and they could not, therefore, be expected to offer milk to Indra in the Vedic ritual or even to know anything of this ritual. That their cows served no purpose of Indra is cleverly urged before him as a reason why he should transfer the possession of their cows to the Aryan plunderers, who would devoutly allow the god to share in their spoils. There is thus no genuine righteous indignation in *a* and *b* against the Kīkaṭas for what

2. For some of the views advanced above about Viśvāmitra and the Bharatas see my "Identification of the Ṛgvedic River Sārasvatī and some Connected Problems",

they did or did not do. Similarly, there seems to be no trace of religious abhorrence about the *Naicāśākhá* creed in *d*.

The Aryans in that age could not, of course, follow or appreciate worship of trees[3]; but what ground is there for believing that the bloody sacrifices before banyan-trees referred to in the Jātakas were practised by the Kīkaṭas of Ṛv. III, 53, 14, or that they repelled Viśvāmitra? The Ṛgvedic Aryan was not made of the same stuff as the holy Buddha, who could not even see an animal killed for sacrifice.

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3. That various Indo-European tribes have been known to worship trees or tree-spirits proves nothing for primitive I.-E. times or even for the Indo-Aryans of the Ṛgvedic times. These cults seem to have been borrowed from various non-Aryan peoples in the course of their later wanderings. The Scandinavians even learnt the terrible sacrificing of human being on trees for Odin (see Chadwick, *The Cult of Othin*, pp. 14–20), which Charpentier thinks repelled the author of *Rv.* III,53,14.

II.6

DĀSÁ AND DÁSYU IN THE ṚGVEDA-SAṀHITĀ

नत्वा दाशरथिं रामं रक्षोगणनिषूदनम् ।
करोमि निर्णयं यत्नैरर्थस्य दस्युदासयोः ॥
ऋग्वेदसंहिताग्रन्थे शब्दावेतौ किमर्थकौ ।
विषयेऽत्र महान् भेदः प्राच्यपाश्चात्ययोर्मते ॥
असुरार्थाविति प्राहुः प्राचीनमतकोविदाः ।
पाश्चात्याः पण्डितास्त्वाहुरनार्यार्थाविमौ ध्रुवम् ॥
एतयोर्मतयोर्मध्ये कतरच्छ्रुतिसङ्गतम् ।
इत्येतन्निर्णयः कार्यः पक्षपातं विनाधुना ॥
पाश्चात्यं तु मतं तत्र कल्पनामात्रमूलकम् ।
न तथा सायणादीनां सम्मतावप्रमाणता ॥
निष्पन्नं दस्यतेर्धातोरसुरार्थं तु तद्द्वयम् ।
श्रुतिमीमांसया ह्येतत् सिद्धं सर्वं निबोधत ॥
अर्थान्तरमपार्थस्तु न तत्र श्रुतिसङ्गतिः ।
प्रीयतामनया कृत्या भगवान् वेदपूरुषः ॥

European scholars have inaugurated the study of our ancient texts from a historical point of view and have taught us to believe that the earliest Indian text, the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*, abounds in references to the tussle between the Aryans and the aborigines. It is generally supposed in the west and in India too that the latter are referred to in this text by the terms *dāsa* and *dasyu*. Roth recognized that the original meaning of these two terms was "demon" but the sense fo "barbarian"[1] or

1. *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, Vol. III, Columns 557–8 and 604–5.

"Non-Aryan" was also obtained by extension. But other scholars began emphasizing more and more the latter meaning[2] and it is usual now to take this as the rightful signification[3]. It is often forgotten that the terms ever meant "demon". The word *dāsa* is connected with *Dahae,* the name of a people and *dasyu* with Iranian *Dahyu, dahyu, daiehu,* meaning "province"[4]. Dāsá meaning "Non-Aryan" has also been connected with *dāsa,* sometimes meaning in the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā* and always in the classical language, "slave", "servant", like *slave* and *Slave* and it is supposed that the latter meaning of "slave" or "servant" is due to the subjection to slavery by the Aryan conquerors of the aborigines. Similarly the latter meaning of *dasyu* as "robber" has been connected with the Vedic *dasyu,* the name of the aborigines who toughly resisted Aryan encroachment and often made attacks on their settlements. From the description of Dāsás and Dásyus in the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā* conclusions have been drawn about the appearance and character of the aborigines with whom the Aryans had to deal.

Indian tradition has, however, interpreted the two words in the *Ṛgveda-Saṃbitā* as meaning "destroyer" or "demon" or simply "foe", meanings which suit a good many passages. Some time ago I had occasion to study with reference to their contexts all the passages in which

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2. See Macdonell and Keith, *Vedic Index,* Vol. I, pp. 347–9 and 356–8.

3. *Cambridge History of India,* Vol. I, pp. 84–6, Masson–Oursel, Willman–Grabowska and Stern, *Ancient India and Indian Civilization,* p. 19 et passim, etc,

4. See *Vedic Index, loc. cit.,* Bartholomew, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch,* 710 etc.

that Indian tradition is here essentially correct. The words occur separately 148 times in the *Ṛg-Saṁhitā* and in compounds as proper names, or derivatives from them, Divodāsa or Daivodāsa, Trasadasyu or Trāsadasyava, 33 times. A careful study af these passages showed that the words *dāsá* and *dasyu* have been used as exact synonyms in the text. Confining ourselves to the passages where they occur outside compounds, we find that in a vast majority of cases the context clearly that "demons" are meant. Well-known demons like Śuṣṇa, Ahi, Śambara, Namuci etc. have been called *dāsa or dasyu.* The waters released by Indra have been described as formerly lorded over by *dāsas.* Indra (sometimes Agni and once or twice the Aśvins) brings light or happiness for *man* by destroyying *dāsas* or *dasyus.* Indra overpowers the dark broods of the *dāsas* or *dasyus* with the light of the Sun. He uses his thunderbolt against them and he receives the assistauce of the Maruts or other allies in his fight with them. His fight with these beings is described in the same breath as his other cosmic feats. In brief the impression that is left in the mind of the careful reader of these passages is that the *dāsas* or *dasyus* were enemies, who were worth Indra's steel.

Such descriptions can hardly suit human adversaries of Indra's worshippers. Readers of the *Iliad* and other works by the ancient Greeks may by used to descriptions of fight between gods and men on a footing of equality but when they read such thoughts in the *Ṛgveda Saṁhitā* they do great violence to the text. The Ṛgvedic gods are very much above men and they are not so anthropomorphic as the gods in Greek literature. Conseqeuently we should try to understand Vedic references to the doings of the Vedic gods in the light of the Vedas. The light

that we thus obtain is intensified from parallels in other countries. The reference to overpowering the *dāsas* or *dasyus*=demons by the light of the sun, e. g.,has an interesting parallel in Teutonic folk-stories in which the Trolls are uniformly described as bursting at the sight of the Sun or of Fire.[2] It can never be claimed that the Non-Aryans could not stand the sight of either of these lights. The impression that is left in the mind of the careful student of the Hymns of the Ṛgveda is that the authors were very much in dread of the *dāsas* and *dasyus*. This cannot be understood if the latter mean the aborigines The fear ought to have been felt by the other party. The Aryans, with their better physique, due to life in more northern climes, and to their superior instruments of war, including the swift horse must have had an easy victory over the Pre-Aryans and we would not expect that they would be in constant dread of these vanquished natives. The fear that the *Ṛk-Saṁhilā* shows is the same as found in the *Brāhmaṇas*, and the same practically the world over, viz., against "demons" supposed to exist and to do considerable harm to man. Demons would certainly make fit adversaries for the gods, particularly of Vedic gods, Indra.

The reason why these two words have not been understood in this obviously natural sense is that the *Dāsas* or *Dasyus* have been described at several places as not worshipping or not sacrificing (*a-karman, a-devayu, a-brahman, a-yajvan, a-yajña, a-vrata, anya-vrata* etc.). It is supposed that they must, therefore, be Non-Aryans, not following the Vedic cult. But is this conclusion

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2. See Thorpe, *Yale-tide Stories* (Bohn), pp. 71, 73, 34, 140, 222, 293.

inevitable? These beings have also been called "the divine" (*a-deva*) and "not human" (*a–mānuṣa*), whichs hows that they were something between men and gods, i. e., they were demons. Then, cannot demons be described as "not sacrificing"? How are then gods described in the *Brāhmaṇas* as sacrificing? If the gods are capable of worship, their counter–entities, the demons, should be conceived as not worshipping. We find it said about the Seven Demons of Babylonia, "They pour no libations of oil (?) nor offer sacrifices"[3]. Similarly different tribes of the *jinh* in Morocco are supposed to have different religions[4]. That the *dāsa varṇa* is described as put below by Indra need not show that we have an ethnic connotation here. There are several passages in Vedic literature showing that the demons were placed below the earth and many are the parallels from other countries for this idea.[5]

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3. R. Campbell Thompson, *The Devils and Spirits of Babylonia*, Tol I, p. 187.
4. E. Westermarck, *Pagan Survivals in Mohammedan Civilisation*, p. 21.
5. Cf. *Ṛk–Saṃhitā* T. 32. 7 in which Indra is described as making the *dānava* placed below all creatures (*viśvasya jantor adhamāñ cakāra*) after hurling the thunderbolt at him. Cf. *Rāmāyaṇa* V. 1.92, in which a demon is described as kept crushed underneath by the submarine rock Maināka at the instance of Indra, and the story of Bali and Vāmana in the Purāṇas. See, further, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* 85.25, where Caṇḍikā sends a message to the demons, Śumbha and Niśumbha, ordering them to go to *Pātāla* ('the nether world') and *ibid.*, 89.32, where the demons are described as retreating to *Pātāla* after Śumbha and Niśumbha are killed. Cf. also *Yasna* IA. 15. where Zarathuśtra is described as having hiden under the earth all demons who used formerly to walk about in human likeness. Westermarck says about the

That the Dāsás or Dasyus are black in colour is but a natural conception, for the gods are "the bright ones", and their adversaries must be "the dark ones". It is a common notion that the Dāsas or Dasyus have been described as 'noseless' and this has been taken as referring to the snub-nosed aborigines. So confident have scholars felt on this point that they have asserted on the basis of this that "the Rigvedic evidence does not favour" the view that the Brahuis of Baluchistan represent the old Dravidian type better than the natives of South India[6]. But what is the exact "Rigvedic evidence"? It is only in one single passage' V. 29. 10 that the *dasyus* have been called *anāsaḥ* "noseless". The context clearly shows that we have to understand "demons" here too. Then how is it known that Ancient Dravidians were snub-nosed? It would be a libel on the physiognomy of the present day Dravidians to characterise them as snubnosed. Their nasal index is not much dfferent from that of North Indians. It is even less than 77.[7] And then why drag in the hypothetical Old Dravidians into our controversy? We have now some idea of the ancient inhabitants of the Punjab and of Sind whom the Vedic Aryans must have met. The figures found at Mohenjo-daṛo show fairly prominent noses (fig.1).[8] Then demons have been described so often in the *Rk-Saṁhitā* as possessing physical deformities that we should not seek for an ethnical connotation in

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Jinn of Morocco: "Their native country is, properly speaking, *under the ground*" (op. cit., p.5).

6. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol, I, p. 85, n. I.
7. Haddon, *Races of Man*, p. 21.
8. Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Idnus Civilization*, Vol. III, pl. XCVIII 3,4 and *Archaeological Svrvey of Indiá, Anmual Report, 1925-26*, pl. XLIIIa. Vol. I, p. 357.

anāsaḥ of V. 29. 10 They are described as *hand-less, feet-less, shoulder-less* etc. We can similarly understand



Fig. 1.



Fig. 2,

the epithet *nose-less.* In fact modern Indian (e. g. in Bengal) folklore knows certain goblins as actually having only a hole for their nose and speaking in nasal twang. Demons in Babylonia have been represented with mere knobs for their noses.[9] Consequently the flat-nosed Dravidian warranted by Vedic evidence exists only in in the imagination of some Western soholars.

These mistakes by scholars are due to a failure to keep in mind the whole of the Vedic literature and the lessons of comparative ethnology. There are, however, some passages which create a real difficulty in the way of taking *dāsa* and *dasyu* as meaning "demon". They are those verses in which either of these words is used by the side of *arya,* sometimes by way of contrast. As we take *ārya* to mean "Aryan" would it not be natural to take *dāsa* or *dasyu* as "Non-Aryan"? Such passages are comparatively few in number. Still they must be explained. Now, among many of these passages, the

9. See the figures of Babylonian demons in M. Jastrow *Bildermmappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens;* Tafel 20 and Thompson, op. cit., Frontispiece.

context definitely shows that *dāsa* or *dasyu* must mean a "demon", e. g. in I. 117. 21 *cd* the *dasyn* whom Indra blows off to bring in light for the *ārya* must be a crop-demon. Consequently *ārya* here should not mean an Aryan. What does it mean then? Perhaps the "plough

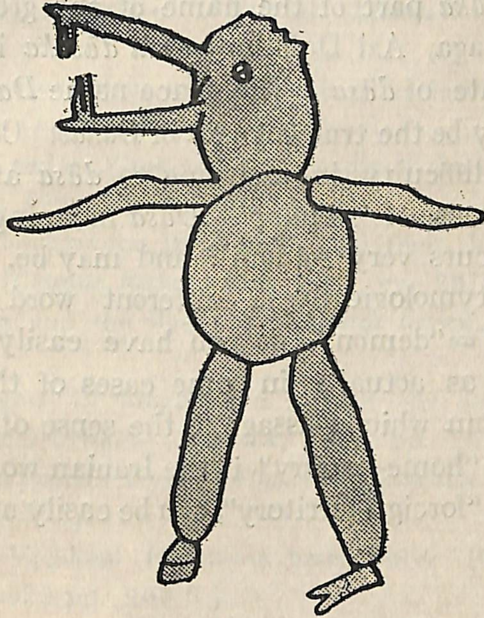


Fig. 3.

man". In later Sanskrit *ārya* meant only a good man and that is the meaning of the element *ari*–in the cognate Greek word *árcstos* In fact the sense of "good or pious man" or "devoted worshipper" suits most of these passages. But in I. 59. 2 the required sense is simply "man", which may also suit I. 117. 21 and a number of other passages. Consequently there is no cogent ground for rejecting "demon" as the universal meaning of the terms *dāsa* and *dasyu* in the *Ṛk–Saṁhitā*. These *Dāsas* and *Dasyus* thus seem to correspond to the *Asuras* (=demons) of the later

Vedic texts[10]. Then as regards the etymology of the terms *dāsa* or *dāsyu*, why need we go out of India if we find light here? The *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā* contains the root *das(dās)*, "to lay waste", of which several conjugational forms and derivatives occur[11]. *Dāsa* anq *dasyu* could easily have have come from this root. We may also think of *dahāka* part of the name of the great fiend in the Iranian Saga, Azi Dahāka (=*ahi dāsaka* in Sanskrit), as the cognate of *dāsa*. The place name *Dacia* and not this *dāsa* may be the true cognate of *Dahae*. Consequently there is no difficulty in assigning to *dāsa* and *dasyu* in our text the sense of "demon". *Dāsa* meaning "slave" or "servant" occurs very seldom[12] and may be, for all that we know, etymologically a different word altogether. From *dasyu*, ="demon", we can have easily the sense of "enemy", as actually in some cases of the *Ṛgveda-Saṁhitā*[13], from which passage to the sense of "province" as opposed to "home-country" in the Iranian word *dasyu*, through that of "foreign territory", can be easily understood[14].



10. The word *asurā* occurs 108 times in the *Ṛgveda–Saṁhitā* and it bears the sense of "god" or "God or "lord" in 94 cases and that of "demon" in only 14 late passages.

11. See Macdonell, *Vedic Grmmar for Students* p. 388.

12. In I. 92.8, VII. 86.7, VIII, 46.32 and X 62.10.

13. E. g. IV. 28.4, where *dásyūn* in line a corresponds to *śatrūn* ('enemies').

14. See Zimmer, *Altindisches Leben*, p. 110.

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64. The Tātpraya of the *Bhagavad-Gītā* (Communicated to the *XXII All-India Oriental Conference*, Gauhati, 1965).

65. Progressive Importance of Miθra Worship in Zoroastrianism (Communicated to the *XXVII International Congress of Orientalists*, Ann Arbor, U. S. A., 1967).

66. Meghadūte Rāmagiriḥ (in Sanskrit) (*Dr. Adityanath Jha Abhinandana Grantha*, 1960, Vol. I, pp. 276-284).

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22+14